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WHO are the farmers that are asking for the tariff on food proposed by the Fordney bill? The National Nonpartisan League has been assailed on many grounds, but its critics never dispute that it stands for the interests of farmers; indeed a stock complaint is that the League is a class organization for the sole benefit of farmers. Yet the League's official organ, the *Nonpartisan Leader*, rightly points out that the American farmer is not suffering from foreign competition but because he cannot sell enough of his own American products abroad. "So long as we continue to sell more goods to Europe than we buy, foreign exchange is going to continue out of line," says the *Leader*. In other words, a revival of export trade is to be attained by stimulating, not by penalizing, imports. Why, then, the Fordney tariff on food? The *Leader* guesses this:

Simply because Congress is getting ready to pass a new high tariff "protecting" American manufacturers against all European competition, and thereby enabling them to put up prices as high as they like. This tariff is coming next spring. When it is introduced the politicians want to be able to go to the farmers and say: "We have already helped you out with a tariff; now it is only fair that we should help the manufacturers."

THE passage of the army reorganization bill over the President's veto by the unprecedented vote of 271 to 16 in the House indicates that the views of the harassed public are making some slight impression on their representatives in Congress. True, the total of 175,000 men provided for is still absurdly large. But at least we may be gratified with a Congress nearly unanimous in dissenting from the President's pathetic assertion that he is "unable to see in the condition of the world at large or in the need of the United States any such change as would justify the reduction [from an army of 280,000]." President Wilson's message adduces one memorable reason for his veto. The present bill, he urges, makes insufficient allowance for "the Chemical Warfare service, the use of which . . . is a necessary addition to the pre-war strength of the army." Thus, a President of the United States has officially endorsed the use of poison gas! But why recall how the world shuddered at its first introduction in the recent great war, the war which we entered to make the world safe from just such abomination? Meanwhile, in the race between battleships and airplanes, the dreadnoughts lead. Whichever wins out, one thing is certain—the taxpayers will lose.

FIFTY-NINE million dollars thrown away! Shipping Board and aviation scandals pale beside the bare criminality with which the Government of the United States has squandered the people's money upon the group of exiles who have styled themselves the "Russian Embassy" and fed themselves at Uncle Sam's trough for the past two and a half years. We have known that Bakhmeteff and Co., remnants of a dead regime, were living on war loans granted by the United States to the old Russian Government; but now comes Nicholas Kelley, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and testifies that *since the fall of the Kerensky Government* the sum of $59,000,000 has been paid out by the United States to support the propaganda and dinners of the Russian gentry who have been living so high in Washington while we were deporting the real representative of the real de facto Russian Government. When Mr. Bakhmeteff needed money, Mr. Kelley testified, he drew a check on the National City Bank, whereupon the bank called up the Treasury Department to ask if it was all right. The Treasury Department, acting upon the advice of the State Department that Mr. Bakhmeteff was the official representative of the recognized—but non-existent—Russian Government, approved the payments.

MYSTERY aplenty lurks behind the strange reparations "agreements" reached at Paris. When the French Prime Minister calls the Treaty of Versailles "ideally perfect" but "not living", and says "the only treaty we have is accord with our allies," and the British Prime Minister stands up and sententiously declares that "the treaty must stand," roles are reversed in a very curious fashion. Monomaniac bitter-enders like Poincaré of course attack Briand for abandoning the letter of the treaty for the forty-two yearly payments; but Mr. Lloyd George and M. Briand know very well that the payments proposed are more than can ever be squeezed out of Germany. In the early days of the Paris conference Mr. Lloyd George stood out against such preposterous play with figures; in the end he agreed to

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more than the French had really hoped for. Lloyd George is not the man to give a loaf without getting a loaf in return. The Paris correspondent of the New York *World*, Mr. Lincoln Eyre, shrewdly conjectures that Lloyd George gave Briand something like a free hand as regards Germany in return for a free hand in the Near East. Events in Syria, Smyrna, and Thrace will bear watching.

EVERY week seems to bring the Irish situation further from a settlement, in spite of man's general conviction that there must be an end to all things. The casualty lists grow longer, and as they grow the Government busies itself with new and more fantastic methods of terror. It seizes a distinguished Irishman like Colonel Moore, an officer of long-standing in the British army and a brother of George Moore, and carries him exposed in an armed motor lorry as an assurance against attack. (Did not the Germans treat civilians in Belgium in some such way?) It attempts to make the citizens themselves, in the martial law area, form themselves into armed squads to help England fight their own country. The Government's policy is facing attack not only from the Labor Party and from influential Liberals such as Ex-Premier Asquith and Sir John Simon, but from the London *Times* and other sober organs which are beginning to call that policy "stupid." In a speech at Birmingham the other day it is reported that Mr. Lloyd George's "only answer to Mr. Asquith's criticism of the Government's Irish policy was a jest." How long can he depend upon his canned majority to laugh at that particular joke?

AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN'S admission that England some time ago made proposals for the cancelation of international indebtedness must astonish and horrify those simple, loyal American bankers who have steadfastly asserted that even to mention such a cancelation to the English would be taken by that sensitive race as a grave affront. To us it seems that the propaganda in that direction which the British Government is obviously starting, has a statesmanlike and humane sound. Doubtless England's debt to the United States would sooner or later be paid—if the Continent paid its debts to England. But we may as well make up our minds once for all that they never will be paid. They cannot be. The desperate dying people of Europe have other things to do with what money they have still left. Moreover, England and the United States have selfish interests that must not be overlooked. As payment cannot be made in gold on account of the conditions of exchange, it would have to be made in goods. This would mean the very dumping of cheap foreign commodities in England and the United States of which all classes in both those countries have reason to be afraid. Putting it quite simply, Americans will not get the cash and do not want the goods. At the same time, these debts do represent an obligation, and we are not in favor of any uncritical gestures of generosity. The United States has a right to demand that the money due it which it does not get shall not go into wasteful financial systems in the debtor countries, or to increasing armaments, or to adventures in imperialism.

STRANGE things happen on the borders of Russia. Only two months ago the newspapers burst forth with glowing accounts of the international army which was to occupy Vilna, supervise an impartial plebiscite, and then turn over the city to the Poles or to the Lithuanians, as the inhabitants might decide. Now we read that there is no settlement at all; the freebooter Zellgowski still holds Vilna, and the international army is yet to be formed; in fact, the situation is so "unsettled" that there may be no plebiscite at all. The answer is simple: Zellgowski is a Pole, encouraged by the Poles, as the Poles are encouraged by the French. Apparently bankrupt hungry Poland is to be driven to a new charnel-house. The Paris papers tell us that the Bolsheviki are preparing a new offensive, and experience would teach us that such stories are inevitable forerunners of a Polish offensive even if we did not know from other sources that the port of Danzig is busily unloading munitions and men sent from France for Poland. The Polish Minister of War and Marshal Pilsudski have been in Paris conferring with Marshal Foch about the best means of "meeting the situation," and the result is an "Entente" the terms of which are still secret.

SENATORS and Representatives setting out to investigate the conduct of American civil and military officers in Haiti might well begin by a study of the Haitian press. They might choose almost at random among the Haitian newspapers of the last few months, since the Navy censorship has been lifted, and find accounts of brutalities charged against the bearers of American Kultur to the negro republic. One journal especially, *Le Courrier Haitien*, edited by Constant Vieux and published in Port-au-Prince, contains illuminating details. In the number of January 5 are the names of two captains of United States Marines and one lieutenant, charged with burning 36 Haitian residences on June 23, 1918. The names of the victims are given. In the number of January 7 is a circumstantial account of the murder of a woman on the night of January 6, 1921, by three United States Marines. The names and testimony of witnesses are given. In the numbers of January 11, 12, and 14 are charges that the public health service of Haiti, directed by Americans, is administered incompetently and is directly responsible for the spread of the epidemic of smallpox in the island. It is charged that patients in the general hospital of Port-au-Prince were covered with vermin, and that patients are permitted to leave the hospital during convalescence when most likely to spread the contagion.

NO relief is to be found in turning from the blessings with which American intervention has graced Haiti to the well-being conferred on the neighboring republic of Santo Domingo. The Dominican Republic maintains an information bureau in New York City. From this bureau a statement was issued on February 1, throwing further light on the benevolence which has characterized American intervention in the Caribbean. "On the night of December 26," the statement recites, "a group of United States Marines set on fire the store of Señor Luis Bautista and the residences of Señores Isabel Guzman and Felicia Astacio," in the community of Guayabo Dulce, situated in the Hato Mayor section. "To carry out their criminal intent, the perpetrators of this offense made use of kerosene with which they freely sprinkled the floor and walls." Mr. Bautista, the victim of the burning, had protested to an American naval officer against an assault committed by a United States Marine upon Mrs. Hermogenes Astacio, whereupon Mr. Bautista was warned by several Marines to "keep his mouth shut lest he suffer for it."

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LABOR should congratulate itself as heartily as does the public on the conviction in New York of Robert P. Brindell, "czar" of the building trades, charged with extortion. He has blackened the name of organized labor and has given a club into the hand of every agitator for the open shop and for the policy of "putting labor in its place." The law should now move just as inexorably to obtain the conviction of the leaders of all the employing "rings" in the same trades. Mr. Untermyer's admirable task will not be complete until every giver or taker of bribes, every conspirator against the needs of the people and against public decency is behind the bars. The business of providing houses for the people has apparently been converted to a source of private corruption in New York and Chicago and Cleveland, and doubtless in other large cities. It needs continued investigation and thorough disinfection.

RECOGNIZING that the record size of the cotton crop in the State of Oklahoma is in part the cause of its declining value, growers have resolved to reduce production next season by one-quarter to one-half. This cotton-growers' "strike" is approved by the head of the Oklahoma State Board of Agriculture, who advises: "Do not plant any more [cotton] than you can pick yourself, or with the aid of your family." He suggests that the growers pick what bolls have neither been picked nor spoiled, thus making unnecessary the planting of large acreages next season, and urges that more products be raised for home consumption, so that planters will not have to barter to obtain their necessities. Seven banks in as many cotton-growing counties have failed through the inability of planters to liquidate their debts. One grower reported that he could not obtain a pair of cotton overalls for a bale of cotton. Many tenant farmers permitted their acreages to rot that they might earn from $1.75 to $2.50 a day picking in neighbors' fields. Despite the belated picking movement, at least a quarter of the crop has been left lying on the ground to rot, and the manager of the cotton clearing-house in Oklahoma City estimated recently that after disposing of 75 per cent of the cotton they had picked, growers had been able to liquidate only 10 per cent of their debts. No wonder our farmer population is crying for relief.

THE plain injustice and simple immorality of keeping Eugene Debs in prison because of his opinions gradually incur all the penalties which in such a case are inescapable. The honor in which he is held grows greater among his friends with each day of his sentence; so strong a weapon the President has put in Debs's hands. The dishonor associated with the man who holds Debs a prisoner grows greater with equal speed; so much has the President weakened his own case. And when Woodrow Wilson refused the recommendation that Debs be pardoned on Lincoln's birthday, he gave opportunity for a magnificent reversal of the position in which the two men stand. Debs seized upon it with what might seem merely a great sense for drama were it not so clearly a great perception of the moral situation. "Woodrow Wilson does not punish me," Debs says; "I cannot be punished. As long as I am true to my ideals, my conscience is clear. . . ." "I know that it is Wilson who needs a pardon from the American people, and if I had it within my power I would grant him the pardon that would set him free." If Mr. Wilson would do no more than remember the Beatitudes it might come home to him that the meek are far from powerless; it is a paradox, but it is also the simple truth, that in the end they are unconquerable. Why will he not realize that the tyrant by his tyranny after a time begins to dignify his victim and to dishonor himself? This is not merely the vision of the prophets; this is the way of the world. It is a perilous thing to heed neither the world nor the prophets.

HOW topsy-turvy the world is appears once more from the news that with the poor of England facing the hardest of winters, the English herring catch has been artificially restricted by forbidding the Yarmouth fishing boats to go to sea on certain days and restricting the hours during which fishing can be carried on. Russia used to buy enormous quantities of Russian herrings, but Great Britain being still like ourselves in the pleasant business of starving Russian women and children, no herrings can yet be sold to those living under the Government of Lenin. British fishermen are thus restricted in fishing and catch in order to keep high the prices for English men and women at a time when a million unemployed know not where their food is to come from. In America we propose to put up the bars against cheaper food coming in from other countries in order to help our farmers, thus keeping up the cost of living for everybody else. In Brazil they are burning coffee for fuel and imploring the Government to fix a higher price for rubber by arbitrary means. In India the Tea Association has demanded a limitation of the tea crop to 80 per cent of normal, again to keep up prices. People in China and in Central Europe and many another place may starve to death, but prices must be kept up at any cost. Is it better that we should live on thus and alternate from famine to plenty than that we should seriously set ourselves to the task of working out a system of marketing which shall fairly and efficiently distribute the produce of the world?

THE February number of *Books of the Month* has some interesting figures with regard to the sale of books in thirty-eight representative American cities during December, 1920. The most popular novel on these lists was James Oliver Curwood's "The Valley of Silent Men," and next to it came Mary Roberts Rinehart's "A Poor Wise Man." But on the whole the results look amazingly like a triumph for the "high-brows." "The Age of Innocence" ranks third, "Main Street" fifth, Galsworthy's "In Chancery" tenth, Hugh Walpole's "The Captives" thirteenth, Rose Macaulay's "Potterism" sixteenth. Blasco Ibáñez, whom some readers think a "highbrow," comes fourteenth. Among non-fiction books the first place is taken by Frederick O'Brien's "White Shadows in the South Seas"—have we not said that the whole world is taking itself off to those Isles of Eden? Wells's "The Outline of History" comes fourth; the only poetry on the list, Kipling's "Inclusive Verse," is fourteenth. The lion's share of fame goes to biography and memoirs, beginning with Mrs. Asquith's "Autobiography," second in rank, and going down through Joseph Bucklin Bishop's "Theodore Roosevelt and His Time," Count Fleury's "Memoirs of the Empress Eugénie," "The Americanization of Edward Bok," Opal Whiteley's "The Story of Opal," Mrs. Aldrich's "Crowding Memories," Andrew Carnegie's "Autobiography," Roosevelt's "Letters to His Children," William James's "Letters," and "A Cycle of Adams Letters," with not a few others in the lower ranks.

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The Future of the British Empire

"THE highways of the East are strewn and littered with the debris of the recent war. And if there falls upon us . . . the task of being the scavenger, at least give us time to carry out that duty." In these words Lord Curzon recently summed up the official government conception of Britain's place as a sort of glorified crossing sweeper, brushing up with armies and advisers and diplomatic missions, at all the cross-roads of the world, the accumulated debris that the war dumped and left behind to decay and spread its poison. Such is the official attitude; and it creeps into the public statements of almost every British statesman when he refers to India or Egypt or Mesopotamia or Persia or Palestine or the other territories where the imperial scavenger is at work. And naturally, from this point of view, Britain expects appreciation of its labors. Indifference on the part of the peoples who are receiving these gratuitous favors is not to be endured; open resentment is sheer treason. The Government has, for example, lately stated that England cannot be expected to keep its army dallying around in northern Persia indefinitely. As Lord Curzon has pointed out, he does not "grudge the responsibilities that have been entailed and the heavy expenditure that has been incurred by this country if, in the chaos that menaces the whole of the Eastern world, we can enable a single Mohammedan state of great traditions and possessing a long and friendly connection with Great Britain, to maintain its integrity, its frontiers, and its independence. But it must be a two-sided and not a one-sided obligation, and if Persia is unable or unwilling to play her part, we cannot out of mere altruism indefinitely continue ours."

Only once in a while does a different and discordant note creep into Britain's confessions of altruism; as when Winston Churchill lately indicated the Government's intention of withdrawing the troops from Mesopotamia, and remarked blandly: "So far as this Mesopotamian oil project is concerned, it does not appear to me to have anything like the guaranty of success that the Anglo-Persian oil fields have." "If we hold the Persian Gulf and Basra," said the London *Chronicle*, "we have the key of the Middle East." The British taxpayer also is beginning to make his voice heard, and is asking embarrassing questions in the House of Commons. He has learned that up to last August a sum of £100,000,000 had been spent in Mesopotamia since the armistice, in return for which the taxpayer has secured, says the London *Express*, nothing but revolt; while £7,000,000 a year are being poured into Palestine where Britain has lately accepted a mandate under the League. Something more encouraging and tangible than a mere sensation of altruism and wide-flung dominion must be offered to the British subject if he is to be expected to pay bills of these dimensions.

Great Britain was the victor in the war—whoever won it. All the important prizes went to swell that already swollen Empire. But the wages of victory are endless wars. At the moment of its greatest power and pride the British Empire is more permeated than ever before in its history with the germs of decay. It is not, as some of its enemies boast, on the verge of collapse. The solid bed-rock of its great self-governing dominions will hold it together for many years to come. But its more erratic adventurings in the East may cause its boundaries to shrink and its spheres of influence to dwindle. Persia does not want British troops patrolling its northern frontier and protecting it from the Bolsheviki with whom it has already negotiated an agreement. Mesopotamia is in constant active revolt against the British occupation. Armenia is a Soviet Republic. In the latter part of this month a conference will be held at Moscow of official representatives of the Middle Eastern states, including Turkey, Armenia, and Persia, to settle, independently of Great Britain, boundary disputes and any other outstanding disagreements. As for India, conditions grow worse every day. The formation of the new mixed councils under the Home Rule Bill have had no effect on the riots and shootings that make India a country without a government. The boycott of the Government, strikes, agricultural uprisings, mass meetings, and the rumor of famine are worrying the authorities, and incidents such as recently occurred when a thousand Indians stopped a train, supposedly carrying their arrested leader, by the spectacular method of lying in a row across the rails, indicate the passion of sacrifice that makes their cause a menace to British security. It is ominous also that even moderate Indian opinion is hardening against the British; so good a friend of England as the Aga Khan, a noted Mohammedan prince, has warned the British of the dangers inherent in "all these expeditions and garrisons in Palestine, in Mesopotamia, and elsewhere, for which India is furnishing most of the troops . . ."

England's hope in the East lies in a swift reversal of policy. If she will withdraw from Persia and Mesopotamia; if she will finally repudiate her protectorate over Egypt and, except for a garrison on the Canal, withdraw every soldier from the country; if she will bring home the Indian troops and reduce materially her own army in India; if she will extend Indian home rule and make a definite promise of dominion status within a specified number of years; if she will make peace with Russia and leave to Bolshevik diplomacy the problem of Turkey and Armenia, and the fate of the Caucasian republics; if she will do these things as a minimum, then Britain may be able to hold together her Empire. If she does not do these things, she is doomed to unnumbered years of warfare in the East. The fact is, however, that the British Government shows signs of a realization of its alternatives. It is not admitting defeat or acknowledging its mistakes; but by speaking regretful words, such as "ingratitude" and "lack of cooperation" and "the responsibility must be theirs," the Government is preparing to pull out of places where, financially and politically, it can no longer afford to stay. Meanwhile, in Ireland, Britain's whole imperial policy is concentrated in a bitter, devastating struggle that has got past the hope of easy compromise. And in South Africa the campaign for secession now going on proves, whatever may be its outcome, that a conquest by force of arms can never be complete.

The future of the British Empire depends upon the wisdom of the British Government. Several influences are at work to teach the Government that saving wisdom, and chief among them is the influence of the ordinary British subject who looks into his pocket-book and sees wars in the East and wars in Ireland—and nothing else, and who shakes his head and decides that glory and scavenging and that sort of thing don't pay.

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Mr. Hoover, Feed Russia!

MR. HOOVER: The Quakers have just received a cable from Moscow which says that the Soviet Government will give them the "fullest opportunity" to distribute relief supplies from America. The Quaker delegates now in Moscow have secured a warehouse for the exclusive use of their supplies under their own management. But the need in Soviet Russia, untouched as it has been by the charity of the western world for the past four years, is too great for the resources of the Quakers; it transcends their powers. Inevitably in such an emergency the eyes of the world turn to you. You represent to half of Europe the finest, truest meaning of America. And when we in America seek to express our good-will to the world, we inevitably, because of your untiring service these past seven years, look to you. Will you not, in dealing with the children who live under the rule of those Bolsheviks whom you so much dislike, show that same broad human charity that you showed when you organized the work of rescuing some millions of the children of our late enemies from starvation?

You must have seen that other Moscow cable just received by the Friends Service Committee:

> 38,000 Moscow babies need milk daily; present supplies can only feed 7,000; infantile mortality 40 per cent; 550,000 gross tins condensed milk urgently needed for feeding Moscow infants during March, April, and May. We urgently require milk, cod liver oil, and soap for 6,000 children between 3 and 8 years old, already known to Moscow health authorities as requiring sanatorium care. 21,000 children between 8 and 15, known to Moscow health authorities as requiring sanatoria, need soap and fat. Clothing needs are for soft material for infants; sweaters, underwear, stockings, and boots for older children.

Can you let political disapproval or resentment at the imprisonment of Americans in Moscow*—especially when so many simple Russians have been imprisoned without cause, and often brutally treated, in our own country—steel your heart against such an appeal? Can you plead poverty when you have never before hesitated to plan to meet the need even before the money was in hand? We know the apathy and weariness with which America today meets appeals for need in Europe; you have surmounted them and raised, if not the thirty-three million you asked for, yet nearly twenty million dollars for child-feeding in Poland, in Czecho-Slovakia, in Austria, and in Germany. Will you not struggle once more to rouse them to meet the need in Russia?

It will not be easy either to raise the money or to arrange terms satisfactory to you and to the Soviet Government. The Russians naturally regard with a certain suspicion relief organizations which have steadfastly shunned Soviet Russia in the past while feeding its enemies, and they may not distinguish as yet between organizations which have used their relief as a form of political propaganda and organizations which do not. Supervision there must be; American givers have been told so many tales of misuse of relief supplies for Bolshevik armies—stories which Dr. Livingston Farrand, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Red Cross, denies—that they would demand strict supervision of distribution. But the Friends and the Jewish Joint Dis-

* In a letter to Dr. Judah L. Magnes, dated January 14, 1921, Mr. Hoover said: "I would say first, that I shall not ask the American people for charity toward Bolshevik Russia until complete American supervision can be established, upon the same terms as we act everywhere else in the world; second that the organization I direct will not jeopardize Americans by establishing them in Russia so long as Americans are held prisoners without cause."

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The Menace of Thrift

FOR several weeks we have had our weather eye on the thrift campaign that various worthy business men have been promoting, and have felt that sooner or later it was sure to bump into a contrary sentiment among business men just as worthy—that is, with just as much money in the bank—and equally able to hire publicity experts to think for them and the public. And so it has turned out. An organization calling itself the National Prosperity Bureau has sprung into existence, and is ladling cold water on the preachments of "Thrift Week," during which we were abjured in newspaper advertisements and posters to save our money and invest it (the names of stock brokers who would help us were obligingly supplied) against a rainy day.

This kind of thing will not do at all, thinks the National Prosperity Bureau, and is getting up at four o'clock these cold winter mornings to plaster our shop windows with posters of a figure of Uncle Sam sitting at the throttle of a locomotive. Surrounding him is the inscription: "Full speed ahead! Clear the track for prosperity! Buy what you need now!" More than that, the Bureau has locked horns directly with the Benjamin Franklin Memorial Committee of the New York Thrift Committee (not very thrifty of words, that body) to which it has addressed a letter saying:

> The mere word "thrift," variously defined by thrift exponents to meet their respective objects, means in practice, if it means anything, to buy less. How can buying less open up closed mills and halt failures? We are opposed to any sort of thrift which leads to industrial stagnation. We are against any new national thrift policy which creates a financial imperialism. We repudiate a thrift, no matter how alluring its guise, which inevitably reduces the living standards of American workingmen to the niggardly requisites of certain immigrants.

Thus the Thriftites and the Prosperitites come to blows. Of course, the advocates of thrift are right. And, of course, the boosters for prosperity are correct, too. But as neither side knows in any but a superficial way what the nice-sounding words of its well-paid publicity experts are all about, the argument is likely to leave the public confused. Civilization certainly needs to be simplified. We need to reduce our wants, to cut down our standard of living, to buy less, to make less, to work less, to consume less of our lives in the machinery of living. Thrift is one path in that direction, but it leads finally to broader roads —headed toward a new industrial system. Prosperity, as commonly understood, lies in the opposite quarter of the heavens. It consists of stimulating wants and scrambling to supply them; of working feverishly twelve hours a day that we may spend deliriously the other dozen. The Thriftites are right, but they do not know why. The Prosperitites are wrong, but the public does not know why. And until the public learns, it will continue to spend when it can and save when it has to—just as it is doing today. There has never been a "buyers' strike," except in so far as high prices have compelled people to reduce their purchases to conform with their incomes.

Meanwhile, we predict that the Thriftites and the Prosperitites will speedily settle their differences. For they are all worthy business men—with virtuous money in the bank —and they do not wish to upset the industrial system out of which their worth and their virtue are derived.

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The White Woman's Burden

"IN February there will be held in Washington a meeting of women which will be comparable only to their first great gathering in Seneca Falls in 1848." This, though from the Press Chairman of the National Woman's Party, is no overstatement. The three-day convention of the National Woman's Party on the 101st anniversary of Susan B. Anthony's birth will be notable, not merely because of the character of the women who attend, nor because they justly celebrate their important part in winning for this country political sex equality, but also because of the opportunity that this great yet incomplete victory affords.

For incomplete it is. The Nineteenth Amendment has been ratified. The world has been told that America which first lit the beacon of political democracy on earth has at last joined the nations which make no political distinction among their citizens because of sex. Yet some three million women—the women of color—in the States south of the Mason and Dixon line are still disfranchised. In *The Nation* of October 6, William Pickens describes the unconstitutional and illegal devices by which the American woman citizen of African, or of mixed European and African, descent is robbed of her vote. This article was sent to each one of the 160 members of the National Advisory Committee of the National Woman's Party. With it went four questions:

1. Do you approve of the attempt to nullify the Nineteenth Amendment in regard to colored women?
2. What steps, if any, do you purpose to take to help remedy this situation?
3. Do you consider this a matter for official action and effort by the National Woman's Party?
4. What suggestions have you for a course of procedure?

In sending these letters, *The Nation* felt confident that no body of women would be more alive to the issue involved, to its identity with the bitter fight which they had just waged and apparently brought to a triumphant conclusion, indeed, to its inseparability from the whole fabric of our democracy. Would not these "suffrage radicals," fresh from the hardships of disfranchisement and discrimination, see clearly the far graver and greater injustice now being treacherously and dishonestly worked on an integral part of their electorate?

About one-third of those written to replied. The tenor of these responses was most gratifying. The majority declared themselves outraged at the disfranchisement of American colored women and resolved to fight it through. A few were evasive and noncommittal, one or two opposed. Yet if any considerable part of the hundred or more who did not reply is even indifferent, the outlook is none too encouraging.

The Nation feels that this issue is fundamental and that whatever the arguments for or against the continuation of the National Woman's Party, as an organization, its members should realize that their goal has not been achieved and the Nineteenth Amendment not won until it means the enfranchisement of every woman regardless of color or race. Will the women of America accept this honor, responsibility, and duty?

Among those replies which appeared to be unfavorable is that of Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont [a native of Alabama], from whom was received the following:

> Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont wishes me to acknowledge receipt of your letter of September 24 asking her to answer four questions. Mrs. Belmont says she finds it needless to give her answers to these questions. She regrets, however, not being able to oblige you. LOUISE GALVIN, Secretary,

as well as the following from Charleston, S. C.:

> I have yours of 24th inst. asking if I approve the disfranchising of the newly enfranchised Negro women. I say emphatically *no*. At same time I say *most emphatically*, let the South handle its own problems, just as I say let the Californians solve their own problems; one in the North or West, where the proportion of Negro population is about one to every thousand white, cannot possibly undertake to give advice or to help us in the South, where we have communities where the Negro either predominates numerically, or is at rate of half and half. We in the South would not presume to go to the Western coast and undertake to settle the trials and problems caused in California by the yellow race problem, and no more can the North come into the South and undertake to solve our problems. If you were living in a community, like this city, where we have half and half, or in Beaufort, S. C., where the Negroes outnumber the whites and where they are constantly incited by the white race coming from a distance to meddle into affairs of which they know nothing because they have no experience, you would then perhaps get something of the point of view of the South. . . . SUSAN P. FROST.

Somewhat more non-committal is the brief reply:

> I'm very sorry to have nothing to say on this important question. Frankly I don't see any clear solution. I shall read with the greatest interest what others have to say about it. MARTHA B. BRUERE.

Entirely non-committal is that of Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman who writes:

> Your second letter about the colored woman voter received. I do not give views or interviews save as I am moved to on my own initiative. In that case I seek to publish them professionally. C. P. GILMAN.

A teacher of Latin in a Georgia college, after admitting some haziness on the whole question, says:

> As you know we white women were prevented from voting in November by the registration clause. The more I think on the race problem the more insoluble it seems.

Becoming slightly more positive is the reply of the National Chairman, who writes:

> We have just received your letter of September 24 attached to the October 6 issue of *The Nation*. In reply I am writing to inform you that a bill for the enforcement of the Nineteenth Amendment was introduced last spring in Congress, but was not acted upon owing to the fact that Congress adjourned before ratification of the suffrage amendment was completed. This enforcement resolution will be brought up at the coming session of Congress and we will endeavor to have it passed. ALICE PAUL.

Of the stirring letters, those which breathe the true spirit of militant American democracy, the following are but a few specimens:

1. I disapprove wholly of every attempt to nullify the Nineteenth Amendment, or to infringe in any way upon the right to vote of any colored women or colored men, or any other citizens of the United States who are not actively insane or undergoing punishment for non-political crimes.
2. I propose to work with other voters for the passage of the anti-lynching law, and for reduction in the representation of any State which may not obey the Fourteenth and Fifteenth

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Amendments and uphold, in letter and in spirit, the Nineteenth Amendment.

3. Yes.

4. It is my intention to bring up this subject at the approaching meeting of the National Woman's Party, hoping for official action at that meeting, followed by effective insistence upon equality before the law for all women.

FLORENCE KELLEY.

And a letter from Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, somewhat too long for reprinting, which includes "an old yellow pencil note of my mother's which shows how she felt in regard to our treatment of the colored race. I feel exactly the same."

From distant California came this letter:

1. Decidedly not. The National Woman's Party, of which I have been a member since its foundation, has fought for sex equality at the polls, subject only to the same limitations as apply to men. Any attempt to disfranchise women on the ground of *color* deals as mortal a blow to the ideal of democracy in general and the purpose of the Nineteenth Amendment in particular as to disfranchise laboring women on the ground of *class*. The Nineteenth Amendment, in other words, is more than skin deep and is color blind. White women who cannot consider this question apart from race prejudice and who are willing that the spirit and purpose of the Nineteenth Amendment be nullified where black women are concerned, should keep in mind the selfish consideration that once the Nineteenth Amendment is tampered with where colored women are concerned it can be tampered with where white women are concerned. It is not that equality which is *justice*. We aimed at *justice*.

2. I shall call attention to this matter in the San Francisco Civic Center, also in any other organizations where public action on their part would prove influential. My association with the National Woman's Party, however, has converted me wholly to the idea of political action on these political questions. Concerted public opinion has to work through those political channels by which alone a movement becomes practically effective. I consider that there has been sufficient education in this country on the subject of political equality and I would therefore recommend that the National Woman's Party with its equipped and well-organized body, its unparalleled leadership and sophistication in politics undertake such action as is necessary to protect the Nineteenth Amendment. *The Nation* probably knows that in the middle of February there is to be a national convention of the National Woman's Party at which time the matter of dissolution or further continuation of the party is to be voted upon. My personal desire is for its continuation in order that it may carry on its fight for equality in the fullest sense, and I shall recommend to the convention, if it votes to continue, that this matter under present consideration be the first one for which a fight be made by the organization. Sporadic, individual action here and there is of little avail. Even letters to congressmen and senators, unless they are let loose upon them in terrifying numbers, are of little avail. There must be a responsible body, efficient and tireless such as the N. W. P. has proved to be, undertaking the work.

3. My reply to question 2 covers affirmatively this question.

. . .

4. I feel this question is one for consideration by people more skilled in political strategy than I am, but in general I would suggest that "the appropriate legislation" called for in the second paragraph of the Nineteenth Amendment, to be passed by Congress for the unqualified enforcement of the amendment, be made as strong as that legislation by which the Prohibition Amendment is protected and that, if necessary, the N. W. P. if it remains an active organization insist on the appointment of Federal officers to protect the rights of citizens to their vote. . . .

SARA BARD FIELD.

And the following from the Atlantic Coast:

On February 15 next there will be held a national convention by the National Woman's Party in Washington, D. C. The paramount issue before that convention will be the question of the future existence of the Woman's Party which at present has attained the only object of its organization, namely, the passage of the Susan B. Anthony Suffrage Amendment. If it is decided at the convention that we continue to exist as a new organization one matter will be paramount, whether our future existence be for political or benevolent purposes. This matter will go with us, whether we indorse it or not, that of the immediate action taken by a large portion of the Southern States after the recent ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, by which all women, white or colored, have been disenfranchised. In other words, that portion of our country which has so persistently opposed the object of the Woman's Party, has turned its defeat into a practical victory for itself, by callously defying the Nineteenth Federal Amendment, as was the case regarding the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments. Moreover, the situation is much more vital in regard to the Nineteenth Amendment, for never before has there been a trained organization of the leading women of the nation associated together for seven years for the sole purpose of carrying through a Federal amendment. The Woman's Party, if it is to have a future existence, will stand or fall in accordance with the path it chooses in this matter. . . . ELLA RUSH MURRAY.

And this from the chairman of the Information Committee of the Woman's Republican Club:

Your courteous inquiry of the 19th inst. in relation to suffrage was delayed in Washington. It is here at last and I hasten to say in answer to your four questions:

1. I do not.

2. Agitation: appeals to Congress, the courts, and above all to the press and the public. Aggressive action all along the line. A man or woman who attempts to deprive a citizen of his or her right to vote should be disfranchised.

3. I do most assuredly.

4. I prefer to submit this in a later communication. It is a proposition involving serious thought. I stand with the women of America, white or colored, in the battle for every right to which they are entitled under the Constitution.

JEAN L. MILHOLLAND.

Finally a vigorous letter which the writer subsequently forbade the use of "either in the compiling of statistics or otherwise unless you use them in full, including number 5":

1. No—neither in regard to colored men or colored women.

2. I shall join the N. A. A. C. P. if they will send me their membership blanks. I shall urge colored people to join the Socialist Party which will give them membership in the party on equal terms with the whites and with the triumph of socialism will give them political and industrial justice.

3. Certainly not. The National Woman's Party was formed for the purpose of abolishing discrimination against women—specifically suffrage discriminations. In the task of freeing *all* women—colored as well as white—suffragists were not helped much by colored men voters. On the contrary, the suffrage referendum of 1915 (Penna.) was beaten chiefly by votes in wards (Phila.) where the Republican machine is strongest.

4. The colored voters should demand that this present Republican congress should cut down the representation from the Southern States where the colored voters are disfranchised and should threaten to bolt the party if this is not done. As long as the colored voters continue to bend before the Republican Party, so long will they be enslaved.

5. I don't know why *The Nation* has arrogated to itself the right to catechize the National Woman's Party. *The Nation* was *utterly indifferent* when the members of the N. W. P. were illegally thrown into jail for asking for the vote.

MARY WINSOR.

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How Long Will Poland Last?

By JAMES A. HONEIJ

ON the remodeled face of battered Europe the largest patch applied by the diplomatic surgeons bears the name of Poland. Ten years hence—or less—the map of Europe may show no trace of it. Poland, spreading jelly-fish-like over North Central Europe, a thin finger touching the Baltic, bulging eastward into Russia and westward into German territory, is hardly more than a two-dimensional state. It exists on today's provisional maps, an attempt at fulfilment of a romantic dream, conceived in the necessity of statecraft, a creation of military cartographers, a national stop-gap. There is little of a nation in twentieth century Poland. To speak of it as a republic or a democracy is a tragic joke. The so-called Government at Warsaw scarcely functions. The plaything of a few nobles and aristocrats living centuries after their proper time, it does nothing and has done nothing for the people. For several years practically its sole business has been the ineffective waging of war, deliberate war, against neighbors with a sole view to enlarging Poland's territory, war which has merely deepened the extreme distress of her own people. Of the problems of peace the Government in Warsaw knows naught and thinks as little, unless it be in terms of apprehension for something that it does not and cannot understand.

What is the explanation of the Poland of today? Utter inefficiency, total inexperience in self-government, selfishness and intrigue, absence of national feeling except in certain limited ways, and above all the medieval state of mind of the ruling minority all play their part. Class distinction between the lord and the laboring classes is as rigidly drawn as between lord and serf of centuries ago. In the belief of many Polish noblemen the peasant is his particular property, bound to him in every respect.

It is often asked why one cannot do business with either Polish Government or people. Why is it not possible to come to an understanding which obviously can only result to their benefit without any expense to them? Why is it that one's efforts and energies to assist these people are so often wasted day after day simply for lack of definiteness and frankness? It makes little difference whether you buy, sell, or give, the same tiresome, prolonged discussion and delay are always present.

It has been my unpleasant experience to have again and again offered to assist with men and material, free of any obligation on the part of the Government, during crises when each day's delay meant death to many soldiers, only to have every conceivable obstacle thrown in the way so that eventually the project had to be abandoned. During the crisis of bolshevist invasion an American organization offered to plan and equip five sanitary trains. What was the result? It was necessary to have the individual approval of fifteen department heads after the minister of war and the military commander had finally issued the order for it. This was during a period when soldiers were dying by the hundreds of wounds and disease for lack of care and medical attention. It is typical of Polish management.

I was in Poland during the great Russian advance. I was in Minsk when the city was in flames and being hastily evacuated. But even at this time of supreme national peril there seemed to be no concerted effort by the authorities in the city to meet the situation. I was in Vilna when the Russian armies were but eight kilometers to the northeast and patrols were reported to have cut one of the main roads leading to Warsaw, and again the same lack of organization was apparent. No provision on the part of the railway authorities was made to assist in the evacuation of the large military hospital. The total inability of all departments to cope with the crisis was harrowing. No definite plans seemed to have been made to care for the wounded. Numbers of these were as many as nine days en route to Warsaw from points covering at least thirty degrees of a circle. Just at this time dysentery also made its appearance among the troops, due to lack of proper medical care, resulting in enormous losses. Trainloads of box cars, each containing fifteen or more sick and wounded soldiers lying in the greatest filth, kept rolling in. They had had no attention whatever on their trip from the front. The dead lay among the dying, amid stench and agony unspeakable. But the authorities in Warsaw seemed to be unmoved by these youthful sacrifices. Appeals made to the Government for many weeks, earnest and impassioned offers of assistance fell on the deaf ears of individuals, callous not only to the descriptions but even to the sights themselves.

It was seldom that one met wounded officers at the railway stations, and much more seldom in the outlying districts or near the front. That the soldiers were poorly led and cared for by their officers was a universal plaint. But the cities, especially Warsaw and Krakow, were filled with officers in excess even of the number of soldiers on streets or in cafes. Krakow itself has become famous as the headquarters of a cavalry regiment made up of the young nobility that had been formed on the distinct understanding that it was not to be sent to the front. Yet it is from this class that Polish chauvinism emanates.

Indeed, it was common knowledge not only that the best regiments came from Posen, where there is large Teutonic admixture, but that the peasant constitutes whatever backbone there is of Poland's fighting machine. There is little doubt that when he fought he fought well; but it is equally true from personal observation that when he ran he also ran well. An analysis of the eight weeks of intensive fighting and rapid advance of the Russian army shows that the Polish troops cannot stand successive reverses; that their morale is soon destroyed. The success of the Polish army in saving Warsaw was due to the assembling of a new army largely composed of older men, to French officers and French generalship, but chiefly to the too rapid progress of the Russian advance army—and not in any way to the recovery of the troops' morale in the field.

It is not that the Polish peasant is devoid of patriotism in the sense of attachment to the plot of soil on which he was reared, but from his many utterances and general behavior it is evident that fighting to him is merely obeying orders. The peasant, one nobleman of a large estate expressed it to me, being his property did as he was told and had no right to independent action. All these observations confirm my opinion that Poland's fame as a nation of soldiers and patriots has been revived in theory only, and not in fact.

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The suffering of the Polish masses is conspicuous everywhere, not merely in the constant ebb and flow of countless numbers of women and children in their small peasant carts, but in their expressionless, apparently stolid, indifference shown by face and figure to heartrending events among and around them. The tragedy of oppression is written into their lineaments. One wonders what life must hold for these people to keep them going, or whether intelligence is at such a low stage of development that they cannot realize to what an extent they are pawns in a greedy, heartless game.

Where there is enlightenment among the masses it expresses itself in profound distrust of the Government and of the unknown forces that seem to be directing Polish destiny. A large part of Poland's failure may be attributed to this well-justified lack of confidence. Indeed, the only effort toward national unity on the part of those in power has been the modern device of propaganda, which is much in evidence throughout Poland in one form or other. Probably its most conspicuous form was brilliantly colored posters gruesomely depicting bolshevik horrors that would befall Poland should her citizens be slow to spring to her defense. Practically all posters carried a legend to stimulate enlistment, but they in no way appealed to the patriotism or the love of Poland in the peasant. Even to his simple mind it must be more or less inconceivable that the Russian peasant who rubbed shoulders with him before, during, and after the war, or the Russian prisoner of war who was found in almost all parts of Poland, could be the same horrible creature the posters represented. Peasants were also constantly going to and from Russia without hindrance, a further contradiction to government statements of what might be expected if the Russian entered Poland. With only the narrowest dividing line between Russian and Polish peasant, their lives essentially similar, the language difficulties along the border almost absent, it is clear that there is no national heritage of hate between them. It has also become common knowledge among the Poles, especially in the southern portion, that the troops under Denikin committed atrocities on friends and foes alike equal to any committed by the Soviet armies. Just before the signing of peace between Poland and Russia reports were widespread of the atrocities committed by Wrangel. So even the government propaganda was typically ineffectual.

The great part of the present plight of Poland is physical, but it is not a legacy of nature. Continual warfare coupled with governmental failure have made poverty and disease widespread. The number of orphans one sees in the cities is startling. One of the most pathetic sights I ever hope to witness was a demonstration in Warsaw on the 4th of July of twenty thousand orphans, from children barely able to toddle to adolescent boys and girls. While the future of Poland lies with her children, she neglects them even more than the rest of her population. If it were not for the help that America has given to these little people many would not be alive today. Of the diseases which ravage Poland, typhus is the greatest scourge. It is practically endemic—cases are found in every village all the year round. Typhoid and dysentery are common, particularly in the northern districts, the latter being especially prevalent and serious this last summer, and smallpox can be found almost everywhere. Yet no progress can be made in combating these plagues until elementary sanitation and hygiene are adopted. No government organization worthy of the name has made even a beginning. Here again we come to a typical Polish paradox. Krakow has one of the best constructed hospitals for the care of communicable diseases in the world. But, due to the lack of interest on the part of the Polish Government, funds are lacking and this institution stands practically useless and empty, while throughout the country Poles are dying for want of care and medical attention.

Undernourishment, too, is leaving its mark. The large numbers of deformed children, bowlegged and knockkneed, is appalling. The tragedy of Poland is that it all appears so unnecessary. The country's natural heritage is rich. In the north are some of the most wonderful pine forests to be found anywhere. In the south the agricultural possibilities are such that twice the entire Polish population can easily be supported there. Miles and miles of wonderfully rich valley land, fertile, well watered, have not been touched. A fairly good network of railways spans the country and development would not be hindered by lack of transportation. But the man-made scars are everywhere in evidence, in idle factories, in wretched villages.

"Must Poland fight?" I asked this question of many Polish gentlemen of authority and influence. They agreed in principle that Poland should develop her own territory but added that many of the estates and consequently of the wealth of the nobility were in Russian territory, and this, they felt, would always act as a cause of war. Then there is the French influence constantly stimulating the equestrian nobles' dream of a great Poland. In this mirage these medievalists see themselves as knights-errant, heroic figures heading victorious armies. To the realities of the present, to the crying needs for physical and industrial rehabilitation of their country these gallant gentlemen are for the most part totally blind.

Only a miracle can save Poland. For it requires a miracle to create what is not, of which the very seeds are lacking—a well-ordered government devoted to the common good. The immediate future of what is now Poland rests largely on the will of the Allies. Her neighbors she has antagonized. Bankruptcy and decay are actualities. Unless Poland can lift herself up by her own bootstraps, she will soon perish. Nor need it be a violent death, a conquest from without. More likely is a petering out, until collapse, of a rotten structure, whose props from the start have been largely mythical. A receiver will come in. It may be Russia. It may be Germany. More probably it will be a combination of both.

Contributors to This Issue

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The Challenge of Waste to Existing In Creeds, by Stuart Chase—an important article—w... published in a forthcoming issue of The Nation.

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Women to the Rescue

By HARRIET CONNOR BROWN

TESTIFYING before the Naval Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives recently, General Tasker H. Bliss, formerly Chief of Staff of our United States Army, said that, while in Paris, first as a member of the War Council and later as a member of the Peace Conference, he had talked with the leading men of all nations and had found them agreed that another world war would mean the end of civilization. One might fancy that, after sitting thus in solemn consultation around the sick body of poor Human Progress and coming to a unanimous conclusion in regard to the slender chan[illegible] of her complete recovery, even under favorable circu[illegible]ances, those c[illegible]yed doctors would have gone their separate ways resc[illegible]d to urge the patient's guardians to give her rest and [illegible]eace, pure food and strong hope, in order that she might have a chance to live and thrive, above all, to keep her from excitement.

Some of them are said to have spoken the word of warning. In America it was not heeded. Closing its ears to the story of havoc and failure which is the story of war, even of a war to end war, Congress went feverishly to work to make the nation ready for more war. With Europe broken and bankrupt, too spent and bloodless to injure America if she would, Congress yet entered on the creation of huge armaments such as no conqueror ever dreamed of in his most ambitious moments. The Army Reorganization Act was passed increasing the army from 100,000 to 280,000 enlisted men, the number of officers from 5,000 to 17,000. And great naval increases were authorized also, two dreadnoughts to cost $40,000,000 apiece and other supervessels to fill with fear the hearts of our possible enemies. "The United States *declares peace* on the universe," commented sarcastically the French journal *L'Opinion*.

And at what terrible sacrifice not only of the world's friendly feeling, but of our financial treasure was this program launched last spring! When Congress adjourned and the clerks of the Appropriations Committees began to set down in orderly, tabular arrangement the results of Congress's hysterical acts, what appalling punishment for the people, the trusting people, was then disclosed! To finance the greatly enlarged military and naval establishments the gigantic sum of $855,956,963 had been appropriated, a sum that was sufficient, exclusive of the postal service which has been practically self-sustaining, for the entire expenses of the Government in the year before we entered the World War. Added to the $2,838,118,400 required to pay this year's bill for our past wars, this made the staggering sum of $3,694,075,363 for war purposes, to be raised by a cruel levy of taxes.

[illegible]h over three and a half billion dollars to be collected [illegible]nded for past and future wars, it was evident that [illegible]nore could be wrung from the people for other [illegible]or the development of commerce, agriculture, [illegible], public health, science, research, education, [illegible]beneficent works of peace, only $481,744,726—[illegible]alf a billion dollars—was therefore appropriated. [illegible]s rich in resources, but even America has to bend [illegible]back in bitter toil to wring from its domain four thousand million dollars each year for the Federal tax gatherer.

A four billion dollar entertainment has been provided for the year. It is given in a two-ring circus, but the people's ring in which alone are performances that interest the people generally is only one-seventh the size of the other ring in which the great military parades take place. And the whole stupid program costs every man, woman, and child in the country, on the average, about $40. The average family has to pay approximately $200 for this annual national exhibition of military and naval preparedness. It is a pretty sum, enough to pay the fees of a bright boy or girl at the university, enough to give the whole family a modest summer vacation. Instead, it goes to support stalwart idlers in barracks and on battleships.

The same Congress that passed the Army Reorganization Act also passed an act to establish a National Budget System. It was said that a budget system would promote economy and reduce taxation, but the gods in the machine must have laughed in their sleeves at the fine irony of the situation. With 68 per cent of our current appropriations devoted to past wars and 20 per cent to future wars only 12 per cent can possibly be left for all other purposes of Government. What can a budget system, be it ever so systematic, do with a budget like that?

The 68 per cent appropriation is composed of items like pensions, insurance, compensation for disability, the vocational education of mutilated soldiers, the upkeep of soldiers' homes, the return to America of the soldier dead, the interest on the war debt, and so on. These are debts of honor and not even a flinty-hearted, lynx-eyed director of a budget would or could refuse to pay them. Nor could he save much of the 12 per cent appropriation allotted for general purposes. If he saved by reorganization of departments and elimination of duplicate activities from one to two per cent of the total appropriations, he would do exceedingly well, but the saving would only be from forty to eighty million dollars. The only item that can be seriously cut is the 20 per cent of our appropriations which is devoted to the army and navy.

It was currently said in Washington before Congress dispersed for the summer that, had the elections not been coming on, the Army Reorganization Act would have contained a provision for universal military training for our youth, but that this provision was not added because women were to vote in large numbers and it was feared they might not like to have their sons conscripted. The elections safely over, however, the chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee cheerfully told the papers that he was going to urge the passage of a measure for "automatic, peace-time conscription" of our boys as soon as Congress had convened.

When Congress had assembled, the Executive Departments laid their estimates before it. The country gasped. We are at peace with the world and we had just appropriated $855,956,963 for an enlarged army and navy, but big deficiency bills were brought in for items not covered in that huge total and estimates were presented for the next year equal to nearly twice that shocking sum. A billion and a half dollars required by our peace-time army and navy for the year 1921-22! To spend 20 per cent of our appropriations this year for maintaining a vast and nonproductive military class is folly; to contemplate spending

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38 per cent next year for settling that class still more firmly on our backs is not merely folly but also a crime against the race. And still that monstrous sum takes no cognizance of the expenses of conscription, of a soldiers' bonus, or of the deficiency items.

But the arrogance of these demands has brought their own reaction against militarism. Before the session of Congress was half over the people had spoken unmistakably. From the business men of the country (even from some branches of Big Business), from the working people of the nation, from thrifty, peaceful Quakers, and especially from the recently enfranchised women of the land have come storms of rage and protests of despair. "Not another penny for armaments!" "Not another word about conscription."

On December 1, there was no real sentiment for economy, no real sentiment for disarmament in Congress. The stage seemed set for the second act in the great prearranged drama of the militarists with members of both parties ready to take the leading parts. It was whispered that there would be no general legislation but that legislation authorizing conscription might ride through on a supply bill.

Nothing of the kind has happened or will happen if those who deplore this waste of public funds will continue their protests. Instead, there will surely be a conference before long to discuss the matter of disarmament, we are likely to join with England and Japan in a naval holiday, there will be reductions instead of increases in the amounts appropriated for the War and Navy Departments, and there is hope that we may enter upon a better understanding with the nations of the world.

"What next?" the magazines have been asking women. "You have your precious ballot after half a century of struggle. What will you do with it?" A very definite answer has been given by the women who constitute the Federation of Women's Clubs and the League of Women Voters. They are asking of Congress six concrete reforms: the protection of maternity and infancy, the safeguarding of child laborers, the promotion of education and home economics, the regulation of the live-stock industry, the recognition of woman's citizenship—all reforms in harmony with their sex instinct to cherish and conserve that which is valuable for human life.

But before they can hope for large success in any such comprehensive program, there must be drastic reduction of armaments. The little 12 per cent of our national appropriations which is available for works of peace is not sufficient to permit us to take up new enterprises. Is it not high time that the women of the world, lifted now by their enfranchisement into a position of power, should become sex-conscious and work together in every land and all lands for the reduction and final abolition of armaments? In time, if we have the vision and courage and steadfastness, things may be reversed with 88 per cent available for good works and only 12 per cent to be expended on armies and navies detailed for police duty.

There are two reasons why we may control the situation. First, we can hold the balance of power. If we keep outside of political parties, holding ourselves a mobile mass poised to crush the enemies of the race as they show their heads in different parties, we may decide elections. Many splendid men denounce and deplore the great armies and navies created by Congress, but such men are at present outnumbered. With the help of the women, however, they can make their ideas prevail and bring about disarmament in all countries.

In the second place, women can lead a crusade against war and the preparation for war more easily and naturally than can men. Women are under no imputation of cowardice if they refuse to fight or to prepare for war. My plea is not for sex antagonism, but that we throw our support to the side of our noblest, our most idealistic men.

If ever I doubted that voting women will have power to effect national policies, I forgot my doubt on January 11, when, with five other women, I appeared before the House Committee on Military Affairs to plead for a reduction of armaments. With their ears to the ground during the previous six weeks, the members of the Committee had heard the warning rumble of the people, the light voices of women rising clearly above the general clamor. Forgotten was the issue of "automatic, peacetime conscription." They actually asked our views about the size of the army. For the first time in the history of the nation, a Committee on Military Affairs conferred with a delegation of women on the best kind of "preparedness."

Is not the plain logic of the situation this:

That we should organize non-partisan groups of women in every Congressional district for the purpose of electing to Congress only persons pledged to stop this waste of public funds;

That we should join with the voting women of other nations to bring about general disarmament; and

That we should consecrate ourselves to see that our political freedom is not lost in any international government that is established and that all the remaining legal disabilities of women are removed.

Here is a program that the National Woman's Party convening in Washington may well consider.

Industrial Peace in Cleveland

WILLIAM J. MACK

WITH the world in a whirlpool of industrial unrest and confusion, we see with interest and renewed hope the experiment that is now being worked out in the ladies' garment industry in Cleveland. Here, in spite of the widespread industrial depression, peace has been maintained, and no reduction of wages has yet been necessary. The two manufacturers' associations have agreements with the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, substituting for strikes and lockouts an impartial machinery for the final adjudication of all disputes and differences between the employers and the workers. This machinery is similar in most respects to the machinery existing in the oth- clothing markets. The basis of the agreements lies realization that, as stated in the preamble,

> In view of their primary responsibility to th public, workers and owners are jointly and sepa sible for the cost and quality of the service re agreed that cooperation and mutual helpfulness are right and progressive industrial relations, and tha tion and coercion have no proper place in American

The most serious friction between employers and em ployees in the ladies' garment industry is caused by the alternation of busy and slack seasons. The industry is, in

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its very nature, a seasonal one. In the slack seasons it is thought to be to the interest of the employer to lay off as many of his workers as possible, and in the busy season it is sometimes said to be to the interest of the workers to decrease their rate of production as much as possible in order to compel the employer to keep them at work for a longer period. In slack seasons control of the industry has been in the hands of employers, and in busy seasons in the hands of the workers.

The distinctive feature of the situation in Cleveland is the system now being installed in the hope of eliminating so far as possible this seasonal difficulty—of avoiding on the one hand the evils of under-productivity on the part of the workers, and on the other hand the lack of continuity of employment during the slack periods. It provides that the union and the association shall jointly engage and pay industrial engineers who, under the supervision of the Impartial Chairman, shall establish for each of the factories fair and accurate standards of average production for a minimum weekly wage, each worker to receive additional pay for every unit he or she produces in excess of the minimum standard. It has been further understood that the employers will guarantee each permanent worker at least forty weeks' employment and one week's vacation with pay. The standards for compensating the workers, as worked out by Miller, Franklin, Basset and Company through W. T. Fitzpatrick, are determined by timing each process of the work with a stop-watch and then converting these times into money at a basic rate established yearly by the referees. One interesting feature of these time-study standards is that they are carried not in minutes and fractions thereof, but in points on the basis that one thousand points equal forty-four hours' or one week's work. This work is being done with the consent and cooperation of the union in spite of the traditional opposition of labor to the stop-watch. It is unique in the history of industry for a union and a manufacturers' association jointly to share in the cost of financing such an experiment. Although the interests of the two groups are not in all respects identical, each group believes that it will be best served by joining with the other to further the welfare of the industry as a whole.

Within the recent past all of these matters have been brought to a focus. The situation was full of difficulties here as in most other manufacturing centers. A hearing was held before the full Board of Referees, Judge Julian W. Mack, Major Samuel J. Rosensohn, and Mr. John R. McLane, and the impartial chairman, Major William J. Mack. The manufacturers' association, represented by its labor manager, Mr. F. C. Butler, asked for a reduction of wages on the ground that business conditions made it imperative that they reduce the selling price of their goods and the cost of production, stating further that the cost of living was decreasing and that wages should be reduced to the 1918 level. The manufacturers asked also for the maintenance of the existing system of wage payments and price fixing and the postponement of all guaranties of continuity of employment until the production standards should be introduced.

The union, represented by its vice-president, Mr. Meyer Perlstein, asked for an increase of wages, for the establishment of temporary production standards pending the introduction of the standards now being prepared, and, to insure continuity of employment, the adoption of a guaranty of forty weeks' work and one week's vacation with pay.

The hearing was followed by conferences between the referees and groups representing both sides, in which the referees assumed the part of mediators and conciliators, endeavoring to bring the parties to agreement on the points at issue. These conferences were not entirely successful at first, and it became necessary for the referees, in their capacity as arbitrators, to formulate a tentative decision on the points submitted.

The tentative decision disposed of all the demands presented. Production standards were to be installed as rapidly as the engineers, under the supervision of the impartial chairman, could prepare them. The wage scale and the guaranty were to be applied together. The present wage scale was to be maintained except as to those employers who would accept the guaranty system providing for a forty-week guaranty, with one week's vacation with pay, with liability limited to 15 per cent of the productive pay-roll. As to such employers the wage scale was to be reduced to the scale in effect by the award of July, 1919, with certain minor changes which it is not necessary here to enumerate.

It was nevertheless evident that there were many reasons which made it undesirable for the referees to pass upon the question of a reduction in the wage scale at this time. Therefore, after acquainting each side separately with the tentative decision, they recommended an adjournment of the hearing until April, 1921, at which time the pending requests of each side would be determined. The executive board of the Manufacturers' Association waived its right to an immediate decision because of the untimeliness of introducing substantial changes in conditions during the preliminary work of establishing standards of production.

The referees state that they have been actuated in their mediation by the desire to put the industry in Cleveland on a satisfactory permanent basis. This, in their judgment, cannot be accomplished until the fair and accurate method of determining the weekly wage of the individual worker shall have been established, the definite continuity of work provided for, and a reduction in the unit cost of production attained. While we are hopeful that the essential reduction in unit cost may be thus secured without a reduction of the minimum wage scale, yet, if necessary, labor as well as capital must bear its share in attaining this end. The referees clearly recognize that this industry, like all other industries, "must meet the problems incident to deflation, and that it, like them, is necessarily subject to the operation of economic laws."

The whole-hearted acceptance by both the union and the association of this decision, with all that it implies, assures the continuance of this unique experiment. If it is successful, as there is every reason to expect, it will mark a new step forward in industrial efficiency, and the example set in Cleveland will doubtless be followed in many other manufacturing centers.

There will be no strikes or lockouts in the ladies' garment industry in Cleveland. The crisis in this one industrial center at least has been met through the vision and broad-mindedness of the leaders on both sides. As we turn with disappointment from one industrial conflict to another, let us watch the development of the Cleveland program and trust that mutual confidence and cooperation may be restored throughout the country and that the upbuilding of friendly industrial relations may be generally supported.

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Poems

Sabina

By SAVILLA GRAHAM

My Aunt Sabina's nature, like her name,
Was steeped in use and custom.

She was most generous of food or money.
Sickness or sorrow in a house
Drew Aunt Sabina as a currant bush in May draws flies.

But anything that she had worn or lived with,
The cardboard castle hung in the spare bedroom,
Adrip with tassels of red wool and crystal beads,
Her bugle-trimmed black dolman,
The shell carved with a portrait of George Washington
Great Uncle Adoniram brought from the Centennial—
All these absorbed a virtue from her.

Giving such things away
Even to people who could make good use of them—
Making good use of Things was part of her religion—
Required what doctors call a major operation;
Some shreds of her identity went with them.
As if the inchoate succession
Of rugs, consoles, and upholstery
Were all her past, her race,
Her sole thrust at social continuity.
And parting her from even the worst
Of our Grand Rapids periods,
Was like the cutting off of France or Italy from one of us.

I recall how she would go to Evalina's
Just to look at the old horse-hair sofa—
Gay as a rewed widow in its Morris chintzes—
She gave to Evalina when she married;
And come away refreshed
In that deep passion for stability
Which was the core of Aunt Sabina's being.

II

When Aunt Sabina died
Her house's every corner
Was found stuffed like an old shrine,
With casts of every phase of ugliness
We have been cured of; perfectly good things,
As Evalina said, nobody would give house-room.

And yet, I could remember
When just to compass that pink brocaded parlor set,
My Uncle Henry,
Who loved to keep the business as his father left it,
Built out the new addition to the store
And brought a brisk young window-trimmer
To bait it with the showy sort of goods
Would wake the mill hands from their wantlessness,
And edge them with the keen desire of Things
Toward more day's labor and more wages for them.

Oh, they took the bait: hook, line, and sinker!
Goods-hungry Poles and Lithuanians
Slaked the balked appetites of a thousand years
Achieving a red plush distinction.

How many a Saturday's debauch was cut
By the instalments on stained pine imitations
Of Aunt Sabina's fumed oak dining table!
How many a Saturday's debauch was cut
To the slim shafts of gilt piano lamps—
Oh, they had them all,
In a year's time too thoroughly American
Not to have all the Things that other people had!
Sons of those same women drive their own cars now,
And one became an Ace in Flanders.

God, who in Greece had come as golden rain,
Here in Connecticut
Had stooped to mortals in the guise of Things.
My Aunt Sabina was but pace-maker
To the great urge by which the American spirit
Drives on to mastery.

Suddenly the room
Seemed full of votive tapers
Burned on the altar of Democracy!
And braving Evalina's slight, derisive smile,
I turned and left them with their God awhile.

The Church-Bell

By ELINOR WYLIE

As I was lying in my bed
I heard the church-bell ring;
Before one solemn word was said
A bird began to sing.

I heard a dog begin to bark
And a bold crowing cock;
The bell, between the cold and dark,
Tolled. It was five o'clock.

The church-bell tolled, and the bird sang,
A clear true voice he had;
The cock crew, and the church-bell rang,
I knew it had gone mad.

A hand reached down from the dark skies,
It took the bell-rope thong,
The bell cried "Look! Lift up your eyes!"
The clapper shook to song.

The iron clapper laughed aloud,
Like clashing wind and wave;
The bell cried out "Be strong and proud!"
Then, with a shout, "Be brave!"

The rumbling of the market-carts,
The pounding of men's feet
Were drowned in song; "Lift up your hearts!"
The sound was loud and sweet.

Slow and slow the great bell swung,
It hung in the steeple mute:
And people tore its living tongue
Out by the very root.

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Amerindian Air

By HARTLEY ALEXANDER

Let it be beautiful
when I sing the last song—
Let it be day!

I would stand upon my two feet,
singing!
I would look upward with open eyes,
singing!

I would have the winds to envelop my body;
I would have the sun to shine upon my body;
The whole world I would have to make music with me!

Let it be beautiful
when thou wouldst slay me, O Shining One!
Let it be day
when I sing the last song!

Boomerang

By ALFRED KREYMBORG

If it is
God who fashioned me,
is it He
who asks, Is He pleased?

Does my prayer,
which is His
if I'm His,
move or leave Him unmoved?

Is it He
who lifts these questions,
or am I
to blame for thinking?

If He,
noticing me
at last, notices Himself—
what's wrong with Him?

Really,
I'm not regretting
what I am,
nor begging, Make me better.

If I
have a sense of the droll—
surely,
He has one too—

asking himself
to pray to Himself—
that is,
if He fashioned me?

The Different Day

By GRACE HAZARD CONKLING

I wonder if the hawk knew
Morning was different?
He stood so long below the sun
With the blue reins of the horizon
In his beak.

There was a vireo
Hid in the hair of the mountain-side.
I can recall his tuneless warble
Because it wrote itself on oak-leaves
Encrusted with gold of noon.
Always I see its monotony
Shining,
Curved like words of water
Over a bright ledge . . .

Afternoon tossed a storm over the mountain,
Lost it in the valley.
A chickadee hung by one claw
Defying the probable . . .

What was there in the day
Made us so still?
The mountain held us under clouds like sails . . .
There was spray on the wind . . . spray on the island
wind . . .
Or was it fire?
Did you feel the heave of the earth, did you see flame
Along the wind at sundown?
Did you remember strangeness
We had lived before?

Oh, love, my love,
Now at last with you
I can wonder:
Now with you I am dream.
Now wild earth flying
Pours me mist of suns
And darkness golden!

Night Is Forgotten

By HILDA CONKLING

Night is forgotten;
Birds sing when the happy sun
Looks suddenly down.
I hope the iris is out
With dew like jewels fringing the petals,
I hope the oriole is up
Arranging his feathers.
I must hurry . . . there is so much to see . . .
I can hardly remember it all!
Only yesterday I made a song about a yellowbird
And what did I say?
It is not real to me now,
Though I know how he gleamed
Shining through four thin leaves
Of the pear-tree.

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Correspondence

A Ripping Review

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A question of literary morals emerges out of J. Salwyn Schapiro's perfectly ripping review of Wells's Outline in your February 9 number; ripping, incidentally, in a double sense, both as regards the undersigned and Mr. Wells. The question may be best stated by stating a few facts. Mr. Schapiro begins his 10,000-word review with the thesis that Mr. Wells has performed at least one remarkable feat: he has interested the average intelligent reader in history. Mr. Schapiro ends with the statement that to read the book is in itself a liberal education. Between the first sentence and the last Mr. Schapiro observes, among other things, that

With the close of the Wells chapter on Buddhism a startling change for the worse sets in.

The Wells interpretation of the Roman Empire is pretty nearly all wrong.

"So deeply is Mr. Wells hostile to Christianity that when he does say something nice about it he says something which is erroneous."

In the history of the Middle Ages there is nowhere an adequate description of feudal society.

The chapter on the Renaissance and Protestantism "is surprising because there is so little of the Renaissance and of Protestantism in it."

The Wells treatment of the nationalistic era, from the seventeenth century on, is wrong-headed.

"It would take real ability to write a chapter on the French Revolution worse than this."

Wells carries his hostility to Napoleon "to absurd lengths."

In Wells's account of the nineteenth century, Mr. Schapiro, who knows that century very well, finds "little in it, political, economic, or cultural that I recognize as nineteenth century history."

"The explanation of Socialism is scrappy and totally inadequate."

On Ireland, Wells is biased and cruel.

And Wells's evocation of the world-future is "vague, sentimental, middle-class, middle-age, mid-Victorian."

Now I have not been quite fair in summing up Mr. Schapiro. For that part of Wells which precedes Buddha and goes back to the nebulae, the reviewer has a great admiration. That is to say, Wells is fascinating as long as he deals with nebulae and paleolithic rocks and primitive men and other things about which we who live today really know very little and care less. As soon as Wells gets down to things of the past in which are rooted the things of our present, as soon as he gets down to that present which, after all, is of the greatest concern to us, why, then, Mr. Schapiro has shown in masterly fashion and with splendid courage that H. G. Wells has published a rotten history, as one of Mr. Schapiro's Seniors might say to another.

Now put aside the fact that if Wells is wrong about pretty nearly everything that matters after Buddha, he is probably wrong about most things from Buddha back to the Glacial epoch. Concede that he scores 100 per cent up to Buddha. But if he is wrong on Christianity, the Roman Empire, the feudal period, the era of national development, the French Revolution, the nineteenth century, and Socialism, and the future, Mr. Wells, if he were passing a history exam for Mr. Schapiro would score, according to my impression, between 11 and 14 per cent.

And now my original question. Why does a review, which demonstrates that a book is really quite bad, begin by calling it remarkable and end by calling it a liberal education? This interests me who have written book reviews and you who publish them and the people who read them. Of course, it is good nature to begin by saying the kindest things you can. It is also good tactics: if Mr. Schapiro had announced in his first sentence that the Outline is only 11 per cent good, a great many people would get angry and stop right there, and never learn the truth about Wells.

And yet, you know how people, even *Nation* readers, will often read reviews. A glance at the first paragraph and a blink at the last paragraph before they decide the thing is worth while. A good many get no further than that. A reporter would be fired if he wrote a "lead" which not only fails to give the gist of his subsequent story, but actually gives the opposite impression.

And what is the good of interesting "the average intelligent reader" in history which is not history? And why is a book which is nearly all wrong a liberal education?

New York, February 3 SIMEON STRUNSKY

Ireland, England, and the United States

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your condemnation of the speech of Mr. Harry Boland at Madison Square Garden meets with the approval of every right-minded American citizen. His speech on that occasion was as stupid as it was futile. You are, however, wholly mistaken when you say that "the hope of Ireland lies in convincing the world of the justice of her cause and of the use of peaceable means to obtain it." The world has long ago been convinced of the justice of Ireland's cause, and this includes the most enlightened opinion in England. Any American who denies it, repudiates the Constitution of his own country and its professed policy during the late war. You make a glaring misstatement when you attribute reprisals to the Irish as "their own game"; reprisals are now and always have been the English game.

When you wrote "the American people intend to have peace with England," you should have added "if they can." The American people intended to have peace with England before the War of 1812, they intended to have peace with the South before the Civil War, they intended to have peace with Spain before the Spanish-American War, and they elected Mr. Wilson President because he "kept us out of war," by which they proved their intention to avoid war with Germany. Yet, in each dispute America settled the issue not by supinely laying down her arms and peaceably striving to convince the world of the justice of her cause, but by "the dread arbitrament of war."

It is quite probable, as you state, that America will not go to war to free Ireland, although she has just as much right and duty to check the ravages of the English in Ireland as she had to help defeat the Germans at sea and on the continent of Europe. But America will go to war to protect her own interests and preserve her liberty. These are now insolently challenged and threatened by England in every part of the world. It does not therefore require the son of a prophet to foresee the smashing of England's arrogant power by the armed forces of the United States.

New York, January 31 CHARLES NOONAN

[This letter gives a clean-cut presentation of what is probably the prevailing view among Americans of Irish descent. Unfortunately, it is not the case that "the world has long ago been convinced of the justice of Ireland's case." The great majority of people, in this country at least, are wholly uninformed about the centuries-old and heroic struggle of Ireland for independence; unaware that two years ago the people of Ireland in a national election held under British law voted four to one for self-determination; unconscious of the extraordinary parallel between the cause of our thirteen colonies in 1776 and that of Ireland today. A great task lies before those who want to secure justice for Ireland in making these and other facts widely known. As for the possibility of war between the United States and England, every right-minded citizen should regard it as an unthinkable calamity. It would settle no grievances. War in itself has never solved anything, and of all methods of attempting to adjust differences it is infinitely the worst, as the last five years have amply proved.—EDITOR THE NATION.]

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An Utter Abomination

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Some of us who hear Mr. Hoover realize with painful chagrin what efforts are being made to get people to give to the starving children with one hand while paying enormous taxes for war with the other. On the first page of the *Literary Digest* is a picture of a battleship, one of six, to cost $23,000,000 each, and on the next page War is devouring 93 per cent of the taxes while poor Education crawls to pick up a 1 per cent crumb.

This is worse than grotesque, it is an utter abomination. We are not simply throwing away this sorely needed money, we are sowing dragons' teeth to hound peace and reason from our shores. If we cannot at present reverse the percentages for war and education, at least let us turn those six battleships into food and clothing. Mr. Hoover asks for $33,000,000 to keep the children from starving. $138,000,000 would make many of them fat and rosy and be an investment in good-will that would repay a hundred thousand fold. If the little candle of the return of the Boxer indemnity has thrown its beams so successfully and so far surely the price of six battleships would make a great light in a naughty world.

Why should America fight fools with fools' weapons?

Cambridge, Massachusetts, February 1 F. W. Reed

Federal Trade Commission and Packers

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: *The Nation* of January 12 contains an article by George T. Odell, The Federal Trade Commission Yields to Pressure, which considers the dismissal of two men by the Federal Trade Commission. The object of this letter is not to comment on this dismissal, but rather to call attention to certain statements in the first paragraph of the article which referred to the Federal Trade Commission's investigation of the packing industry.

It is said that the investigators of the Commission employed the "precise science of mathematics in unraveling the complicated accounts which the packers had used to conceal their extortions and profiteerings and the most exacting laws of evidence in dissecting the legal subterfuges through which they maintained their monopolistic control over food products."

It has been proved again and again, not only in the published statements of Swift & Company, but in numerous Congressional hearings that the Federal Trade Commission did not employ "the precise science of mathematics" nor "the most exacting laws of evidence." In the first place the investigation was *ex parte;* in the public hearings, the packers were not permitted to be represented by attorneys, they could not examine the prejudiced witnesses that had been sought out by the Trade Commission, and they could not put on and examine their own witnesses.

The private files of the packers were examined and only such letters and documents as could be used in trying to make out a case against the packers were taken and reproduced. Other parts of the same files which controverted the contentions of the Commission were suppressed. In the report of the Federal Trade Commission items from telegrams were reproduced in order to make out a case against the packers, and other items from the same telegrams which completely refuted the contentions of the Commission were omitted. Since such methods were used, it is difficult to understand how one can say that the Federal Trade Commission used "the most exacting laws of evidence."

As for employing "the precise science of mathematics" the investigators used and presented faulty statistics in their attempt to prove that the packers "controlled" the food supply of the nation. Their accountants did not make a thorough examination of the accounting system of the packers, but merely made superficial studies in an attempt to find something wrong with the accounts. These accountants criticized the whole system of accounting which has been developed with great care during the past thirty or forty years for the purpose of running a complicated business which deals in perishable products. They were unable to make constructive suggestions of any kind. Not one single accounting device for the purpose of concealing extortions or profiteering was uncovered and no evidence of extortions or of profiteering was found.

The Trade Commission did not establish the fact of monopolistic control. If it had, the packers would have been indicted long before this. Swift & Company has no agreement or collusion with any other packer to affect prices of meats or live stock, and there is not one single bit of evidence presented by the Federal Trade Commission which disproves this statement.

All of the charges made above against the Federal Trade Commission may be substantiated by referring to Swift & Company's Analysis and Criticism of Part Two of the Report of the Federal Trade Commission, copy of which may be obtained by sending to the Chicago Office of Swift & Company.

For these reasons, we find it necessary to protest against the statements appearing in the first paragraph of the article in *The Nation* and to express the hope that you will let your readers have the benefit of the facts in this letter.

Swift & Company, *per L. D. H. Weld,*
(manager) Commercial Research Department

[As to the accuracy or fairness of the report of the Federal Trade Commission on the meat packing industry about which Mr. Weld complains, the courts, the United States Senate, and even the "Big Five" packers themselves have already passed judgment, and their verdict is against Mr. Weld. The Department of Justice drew up a bill of complaint against the packers based on the facts and conclusions of the Federal Trade Commission's report, and on that bill a consent decree signed by the packers was entered in the supreme court of the District of Columbia. Under the orders of the court the packers are now divesting themselves of their stockyards and other monopolistic holdings which were complained of by the Federal Trade Commission. Furthermore, only a few days ago the Senate by a majority of 13 passed the Kenyon-Kendrick bill for public control of the packing industry, thus recording its verdict in favor of the Federal Trade Commission and against the packers. In fact, Senator Kenyon brought out very clearly during the debate that the packers had been given the widest latitude during the hearings before the Agricultural Committee, but that they had failed to directly attack or impeach the Commission's report. Although they were invited and urged by the chairman of the Federal Trade Commission and by senators before whom they were appearing to produce any of the material which they charged had been unfairly left out of the report, they produced nothing. The Federal Trade Commission presented the evidence secured by its investigators and the conclusions therefrom drawn by the commissioners themselves. The signature of the packers to the consent decree based upon that report and the action of the Senate on the Kenyon bill point to the fallacy of Mr. Weld's complaint.—G. T. O.]

Advertising and Freedom of the Press

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I beg to thank you for the paragraph in your issue of December 22 about the *Globe,* Dr. Frank Crane, the Morse International Agency, and the Gorham Company's advertising. I had overlooked the correspondence in the *Globe* and was grateful to be informed about it.

Subserviency to advertisers is a bitter price to pay for profits in the newspaper and periodical business, but I fear the list of those who pay it nowadays is a very, very long one, while those one knows of who don't can be reckoned on the fingers. If the decline of advertising, which impends, will bring back the freedom of the press, the net gain will be enormous.

New York, December 22 Edward S. Martin

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A Photographer Challenges

A PLACE without doors, it was called by a street car conductor who happened upon the top floor of 291 Fifth Avenue, New York. It was an expression of literal truth. In the thirteen years Alfred Stieglitz experimented there, holding exhibitions of Rodin, of Brancusi, of children's drawings, of Matisse, of Picasso and of Negro sculpture, of Marin and of other work, and receiving everyone who came, the place had not been locked or guarded nor its contents insured.

Their experience there made people ask: "What is 291?" It was obviously not merely a place. And the man who maintained it said it was not himself. Letters came even from Europe asking what was 291. So Stieglitz undertook to inquire what it did mean to people. He asked some thirty people what it made them feel and received more than twice as many replies, which were published in Number 47 of the magazine, *Camera Work*, dated July, 1914. He has now, after more than six years, undertaken again to question and to affirm, this time in an exhibition of 145 photographs at the Anderson Galleries, beginning February 7.

Stieglitz affirms photography. Its mechanical processes he has used to explore life and to record his exploration. Loving the visible world, the peace of harvest fields with people working in them, the glistening bodies of swimmers pearled with bubbles, the quiet dignity of a child in a doorway, the shadow of a steep Italian street, he gave utterance to that love through a craftsmanship constantly formulating and solving new problems in the use of photographic machinery.

His work of experiment with his medium went on, always, and as time passed the utterance of the man took on new, more conscious insistence. Returning from Europe, an American, he photographed the steerage of an ocean liner, its human cargo cut off by a cruelly white bridge from the remainder of the ship. In terms of what could be seen he stated the unfulfilled promise of American life. Having returned to this country he became, of necessity, one of those lonely beings whose hope beats against the slagheap of an age of steel and fear and exploitation. It is not as a passerby merely that Stieglitz photographed the crenelated skyline of lower Manhattan, swept with swirls of steam; a Fifth Avenue stage coach enveloped in whirling snow; the steaming bodies of car horses in the New York of twenty-nine years ago. In the print of a darkening railroad yard, harboring no human being, only a locomotive belching smoke and the telegraph poles that link cities, it is as though the lines of gleaming steel rails had cut through the twilight into the soul of the man who saw and recorded them.

The photographer realized that men as they build express their age. Those prints of office buildings looming in daytime and by night over the dwelling places about which they have grown, are a photographer's record of what an American city gave to his eye. Just so, upon the rancid society of our time, with its diseases of fear and pretense, he turned that searching eye of the camera, seeking out men and women. For Stieglitz a portrait is not an acceptance of looking pleasant. The spirit of inquiry that made him ask people what 291 meant to them pursued him as he photographed people. What is this man, this woman? If he or she can look pleasant, then that pleasantness is only the gesture concealing something of which that human being is afraid. Very well. Move the camera closer. Push farther the limits of chemistry, of developing and printing, of paper and mounting. Photograph every pore in that person's face at the extremes of looking pleasant and of terror. A Stieglitz portrait, then, becomes one, two, or three, or half a hundred photographs.

Hope, longing, drive this lonely spirit on. What is America, what are Americans? Love of the world leads him to the purest expression of it, to woman. It is from woman's hands, from her face, breasts, feet, that he evokes a terrible sense of the innocence and sensitiveness that have no home in America. This woman, who comes to be an embodied love of the world, a living, quivering being that is flung up for a moment out of night, eloquent of death; this dying chestnut tree that thrusts its tripartite trunk into a darkening sky; these raindrops on the branches of a young tree in autumn—what place is there for them in this America? Is it not afraid of them? Do not Americans fear woman as they fear the plague? With reason, for woman is terrible, as terrible as life.

What is it that this despised box, fitted with lens and shutters and called a camera, has done in this man's hands? It has penetrated the fear which human beings have of themselves lest those selves be made known to others. So doing it has laid bare the raw material which life in America has not yet dared to look upon and absorb. When Americans are ready to undertake inquiry about themselves, their nation, the world, as the camera has been made to inquire, there may dawn a sense of common humanity. That inquiry cannot be undertaken by grotesque puppets gesturing in the mirror of what they conceive will be affluence and popular approbation and calling their gestures art, science, sociology, democracy, or any of the names with which civilization reeks. It can not be undertaken by people who think they will use other human beings for their own profit, while they proclaim freedom.

In a land where disinterested inquiry, instinct with feeling, does not exist, photography has become an instrument of it. No human being can ever retrace the living and suffering that culminated in the moments out of which Alfred Stieglitz's photographs sprang. But his affirmation carries a challenge to men and women of the future. It is the challenge implicit in that question asked just before the war: "What is 291?" The spirit of 291 and of its gallery or "Place of Demonstration" was an attempt to make room for disinterested inquiry, for work and respect for workmanship irrespective of person. There the attempt was made to fight free of the use of one human being by another for profit, the subordination of creative impulses to personal advancement, all the tragedies which are the harvest of greed and jealousy. It was such a spirit that made possible the life recorded in Stieglitz's photographs. It is such a spirit that Randolph Bourne, dead protagonist of Youth and Life, gave voice to. Bourne foresaw in a trans-national America a concert of eager spirit, conscious of one another, creating each in his own form a common heritage of expressiveness. The peoples in America Bourne conceived to be in a common enterprise. He saw, in a world that dreamed of internationalism, America as the first international nation built unawares. Was his dream a dream merely? Did the quality of Bourne's hope die with him? Will the passions of self-seeking and fear which masquerade as patriotism, will intolerance and race hatreds destroy the hope of this unique experiment in the world?

The answer is in the challenge of Stieglitz's work. It is achieved in the spirit in which trans-national America will be realized if that is to come to pass. Significant of that spirit is the fact that of the fifty numbers of *Camera Work*, the magazine which Stieglitz published with no thought of gain and at financial loss to himself, not one contained his work after 1911, work which represents the maturity of the man and gives body to the exhibition at the Anderson Galleries. It is significant of Stieglitz's spirit that 291 was maintained to give workers opportunity to work, to exhibit, to see the work of others, even to sell their work, and that his own photography during those years was held in abeyance, so much so that among photographers the world over the impression had spread that Stieglitz had stopped photographing.

I once heard Stieglitz wonder aloud whether there were more such fools as he had been. That is the question which his exhibition asks. If there are young men and young women who will attempt to answer that question, in their lives and their work, with affirmation, then there is indeed hope of the fulfilment of the promise America made to Stieglitz and to us, a promise as yet unredeemed.

HERBERT J. SELIGMANN.

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Books

The Business of Religion

Fundamentals of Prosperity. By Roger W. Babson. Fleming H. Revell.

Religion and Business. By Roger W. Babson. The Macmillan Company.

THE unknown cynic who assigned statistics to the chief seat in the synagogue of lies would have a grievous half-hour if by chance he fell into Mr. Roger Babson's hands. To Mr. Babson, figures are the raw material of revelation; and so loudly and plainly have the figures spoken to him that he has turned preacher.

The gist of the matter is this: Statistics have proved to Mr. Babson that this is a moral universe. This is of course not an original discovery; nor is Mr. Babson the first business man to make it. It was surely a business man who long ago said that "honesty is the best policy"; and the saying was much more than a petty maxim of safe conduct—the man had found out that this world was so made that it did not pay to be dishonest in it. It was a faint and flickering perception of the considerable fact that the universe has some sort of moral basis; and that the man probably made his discovery by having his fingers burnt in a crooked transaction does not take anything from the truth and the greatness of it. But what this man learned from his burnt fingers, Mr. Babson has established by statistics. He has accumulated figures about many things, from many quarters, and through many years. He has classified and collated them, turned them inside out, and stood them on their heads; he has reduced them to graphs and curves. He has pondered and brooded over them; and the upshot of it all is to establish beyond peradventure that business prosperity is an affair of good morals. The story is told of a very tired bookkeeper that one day he closed his books with a slam, saying that "those confounded figures were laughing at him." No doubt there are scoffers who would say that Mr. Babson's figures were also displaying an unseemly levity. But Mr. Babson does not let his figures run away with him. He treats them firmly and austerely. He is aware of the margin of error that is present in all statistics; he knows what reservations to make in drawing his inferences. And his graphs and "composit-plots" tell him plainly that you cannot divorce business prosperity from decent morals.

So far, good. But there is more to follow. From his ethical generalizations, Mr. Babson turned to the New Testament; and he has made the startling discovery that Jesus was a realist. This will be painful reading to certain up-to-the-minute modernists who have been applying the Freudian gauge to Jesus and finding him quite inadequate. According to one of them, Jesus was a "masochete" or something of the sort; and another confident young gentleman (probably newly married) the other day dismissed him as "a pacifist bachelor" who need not be taken too seriously. And now comes this hard-headed statistician telling us that Jesus knew all about it and that his teaching is a very cyclopedia of good and sound business practice. The "hard sayings" which even the devout have felt constrained to mitigate in pity for human frailty turn out to be fine business commonsense. To "seek first the Kingdom of God" pays. The "second mile" is good business. "Take my yoke upon you" is the path of success. In fine, "statistics show," says Mr. Babson, "that Jesus's teachings are absolutely sound."

Some of us have suspected that this was so for quite a time; and yet somehow Mr. Babson does not make us as happy about it as we ought to be. It is good to have our convictions reinforced from an unexpected quarter; but one has an uncomfortable suspicion that Mr. Babson has stopped at the wrong station. There seems to be a flaw in his premises, and he has landed us in a dubious conclusion. He tells us that if we would be prosperous we must needs be moral, and therefore religious. But there is very good historical justification for fearing that once we are prosperous we shall cease to be religious. This tendency was noted by an old writer well over two thousand years ago. "Beware . . . lest when thou hast eaten and art full and hast built goodly houses and dwelt therein, and when thy herds and thy flocks multiply and thy silver and thy gold is multiplied and all that thou hast is multiplied, then thy heart be lifted up and thou forget the Lord thy God . . . and thou say in thine heart, My power and the might of mine hand hath gotten me this wealth." This is a piece of sound observation. If Mr. Babson could find the relevant statistics, he would find that they proved something of this kind.

Lest criticism take up so much space as to confine appreciation to an inconsiderable final paragraph—which would be a gross unfairness—let me say here that these are notable books and should be read. Mr. Babson is not trying to secure religious sanction and reinforcement for the existing social order; and if upholders of the capitalist system turn to these pages for aid and comfort, they will be turned empty away. True, Mr. Babson sees no hope in socialism; but he says plainly that capitalism has proved a failure; and he says many other courageous and far-seeing things. For instance: "Social movements thrive on persecution. You can imprison a man, but not an idea"; "the inheritance of property develops weakness and cannot be defended on spiritual, economic, or scientific grounds. The only excuse for the present inheritance laws is that man has yet been unable to devise a better system for disposing of property after death." (And, by the way, Mr. Babson has been thinking about this problem for a long time. Has he no light to give us upon it?) There is throughout the book much shrewd criticism both of modern business and of organized religion; and in so far as the book insists upon the connection between religion and business in the unity of life, it does a really valuable service.

But the central defect of the book is an error in perspective. Mr. Babson has not yet thought his way through to first principles. This appears occasionally in the vacillation of his mind concerning the relations of religion and business; now, religion seems to be the handmaid of business; another time, business would appear to be ancillary to religion. What he does not see is that both religion and business are subsidiary to life. Hence also his mistaken emphasis on production. After all, this vast synthesis of commerce, industry, production is at bottom an organization of the processes by which the physical basis of life is maintained. As I have said elsewhere, its relation to the rest of life is that of the kitchen to the rest of the home. It is essential, indispensable, yet strictly preliminary and subordinate; and the primacy of the business interest in the modern mind means that we are living almost altogether in the kitchen of the house of life and pay but occasional and perfunctory visits to the living rooms of the house. In point of fact, it is simple heresy to test the religion or the life of a community by the measure of its productivity. Of production, in the usual sense, society needs no more than that which will supply its members with an adequate physical life. In abnormal times such as these, when a five-year orgy of waste has given a special urgency to production, the case is different. But in ordinary times, an excess of production over a generous estimate of the common need is mere waste. After all, men do not live to produce; they produce to live. And it is because we have not yet learned the real values of life that we have surrendered to this gospel of production.

It is just here that religion has failed. The business of religion is not (as Mr. Babson seems to think) to teach morals but to reveal values; and it is precisely this that religion has not been doing. If it could give to men a true principle of valuation, morals would take care of themselves. This is a larger matter than we may discuss here. But summarily one may say that the final test of a way of life is its creative quality—that is, whether it makes for the increase of life. Productivity means only an increase of things; and it need not mean an increase of life. It may quite easily mean an arrest of life. It is not without its significance that Mr. Babson has nothing to

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say about Art, though one suspects that somewhere within his insistence on production there is an unrecognized sense of its inadequacy for the whole business of life. He sees that the craving for self-expression is inherent in human nature. But production is for self-preservation; while self-expression is essentially creative; and in the end the main test of a community's life is its Art.

Mr. Babson is moving in the right direction, but he has some distance yet to go. Meantime, however, he will help men to reach a religious evaluation of business. It has been said that "the true student goes to his desk as to an altar"; and Mr. Babson would add that the genuine merchant goes to his office as to a shrine. This generation has loved money without respecting it. For money is a symbol of value, and value is created by the expenditure of the priceless stuff of life. A coin is so much minted life, a holy thing, neither common nor unclean; a sacramental thing like the bread and wine of the Communion, the symbol of life fruitfully expended. That is why the banker should be as a priest, and a bank a holy place. The goods in the store are so much congealed life; and the merchant who does a crooked trade is defiling the Temple no less than the hucksters and money changers in Jerusalem long ago. Some day we shall perhaps come to think in such terms as these; and Mr. Babson, despite the confusion of much of his thought, is helping to hasten that day.

RICHARD ROBERTS

Universal History

The Martyrdom of Man. By Winwood Reade. Twenty-second edition with an introduction by F. Legge. E. P. Dutton and Company.

TWENTY years ago, when the reviewer was a student in college, he was handed by a deprecating, almost furtive, professor a work described as equally brilliant and dangerous. Even then it was a rather old book, having been first published in 1872. Solely by its own merits it made its way into a moderate popularity, for, though most journals, including the London *Times* and the *Spectator*, had refused to notice it, and though all the reviews it received until 1906 were bitterly hostile, it continued to sell until fifteen thousand copies had been disposed of and until now the twenty-second edition has been issued with a biographical and critical introduction.

The reason for its cold reception was the author's hatred of Christianity. Reade lived in the generation when to many men Darwin seemed to have finally relegated the existence of God to the limbo of unnecessary hypotheses, and when Nietzsche and Richepin and Swinburne and James Thompson ("B. V.") were straining the resources of language in the effort to give the Deity a piece of their minds and thereby to "épater le bourgeois." It is just in this particular that Reade "dates" the most; his passionate assurances that "the destruction of Christianity is essential to the interests of civilization," that "God-worship is idolatry, prayer is useless, the soul is not immortal, and supernatural Christianity is false," strike one now less as blasphemies than as the quaint survivals of the Victorian era when the so-called "warfare of science and theology" reached its climax. But it is only the author's bitter spirit that nowadays seems out of place. It is instructive to follow the notes pregnant with irony in which the historian's modern editor points out that many of the positions taken by him in the treatment of Biblical history, which at the time they were written gave much offense, have now been adopted by the contributors to the chief religious encyclopedias.

Taken all in all a noble idea is worthily worked out in this first universal history to use the results of Darwinism. Reade was the first to see and to put into popular form the bearing of evolution on the perspective of man's past. In four chapters, on war, on religion, on liberty, and on intellect, he tells the story of the race's progress from the anthropoid to the culminating act, as he regarded it, in the history of freedom, the emancipation of the American slaves. And he tells it with a brio, a bravura that remind the reader of his uncle Charles Reade's breathless tales of adventure. If he is less original than his predecessor Voltaire and less well informed than his successor Wells, his spirit and style are no less captivating than are theirs. His researches into the origins of things remind one of nothing so much as of Polydore Vergil's great, neglected book, "De Inventoribus Rerum." Bits of Buckle and of Comte and of Herbert Spencer are worked into the larger plan.

In the introduction to his "Outline of History" H. G. Wells speaks of Reade as one of his masters. Though Wells is doubtless far superior to Reade in accuracy and scope, the indebtedness is evident. Both view history as a whole and both anticipate a Utopia of science in the future when, as the earlier writer puts it, "this earth, now a purgatory, will be made a paradise"; when all will be rich, good, happy, and intelligent, and when man will migrate from planet to planet and from sun to sun. Though in that day all men will be brothers and the universe will be one common fatherland, in the meantime it may please Americans to read this author's opinion that our own country, to which he was not native, had advanced the furthest along the road to the ideal. The United States, in his opinion, is the happiest, the most civilized, the most prosperous, and also the noblest people upon earth.

PRESERVED SMITH

Books in Brief

"NOW, don't be an ignorant, immoral foreigner," says one of Bernard Shaw's English characters to a person who has not the advantage of British birth. The hostility, or prejudice, with which every nation regards every other, which has made the Latin words for "stranger" and "public enemy" the same, and which has given its English meaning to the word "outlandish," is well illustrated in a book by the Chilean editor Tancredo Pinochet, intended to bridge over "The Gulf of Misunderstanding" (Boni and Liveright) as it exists between Anglo-Saxon and Spanish America. Cast in the form of letters to a South American lady, some from her husband bitterly criticizing the United States and others from a North American friend answering these attacks, it analyzes the character of our civilization both from the inimical and from the friendly viewpoint. The South American is first of all struck with the rush, the cult of speed, so great that when a man falls to his death from his office at the top of a sky-scraper, he is handed a check for his life insurance as he passes the window of the company ten stories below. Hollow, the South American observes, are our pretenses at democracy, with our concentration of great wealth, our miserable proletariat, and the horrible treatment of the Negroes. Thoroughly does he disapprove of our feminism, which not only has made woman equal to man but has put her in the position of master. Strange, he remarks, that there are so many divorces when husband and wife never see one another from early morning until late at night. On the strength of a novel of Ernest Poole he concludes that cicisbeism is becoming common. At the divorce court he says he heard men fined and sentenced to prison for not giving their wives all, instead of only most, of their earnings, and, in another case, for not allowing pet dogs to sleep in bed with them. Manners he finds atrocious, as when he gallantly offered his seat to a lady, only to be met with the tart reply: "Why should you give your seat to me? Am I frailer than a man?" Religion, as typified by Billy Sunday, prohibition, education or rather the lack of it, materialism, and imperialism all come in for hard knocks. The wholesome, if humiliating, task of reading a book full of such criticisms, is sweetened by a coating of praise laid on by way of antidote, and by the final conversion of the Chilean gentleman to a love for the United States and to a perception of her real idealism and fine purpose.

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Drama

The Case of "John Hawthorne"

LATE in January "John Hawthorne," a drama by an hitherto unknown playwright, David Liebovitz, was tried out for afternoon performances by the Theater Guild and withdrawn at the end of a very few days amid the practically unanimous jeers of the critics of the New York daily press. We do not regret the withdrawal. Indeed, in its present shape the play should never have been put on. Nor, if it was worth putting on at all, should it have been intrusted to a group of actors whose wooden inexpressiveness and feeble declamation was unpierced by one ray of feeling or intelligence. Where did the directors of the Guild keep their sensitiveness to the quality of human speech when they permitted Mr. Liebovitz to make his Kentucky mountaineers speak as surely no human beings have ever spoken in the world? The plea that the dialogue was not realistic but "stylicized" cannot be admitted. For the baldness and lifelessness of the lines grows in proportion as the author seeks to raise them above the level of humble human speech. No, from the point of view of the directors of the Guild, there was little excuse for the production of a work so obviously imperfect. Nevertheless, its immediate critical reception was calculated to confound and not to correct Mr. Liebovitz. That reception was so dangerously thoughtless and so wholly bare of any understanding of the character and aim of the tragic drama that it struck one as a menacing prophecy of what was more than likely to occur on some other and graver occasion.

For what no one saw or was willing to see was that Mr. Liebovitz had built an action which, stripped of his dialogue, was not only of an authentically tragic quality but added to the tragic drama's stock of psychology a new and recognizably American motive. It was glibly said that the stuff of the play was "raw." So is the stuff of "Oedipus" and "Macbeth." It was said that its fable involved the tiresome old triangle. So do the fables of "Rosmersholm" and "Le Pardon" and "Rose Bernd." The value of a dramatic action has nothing to do with novelty of incident or the tingle of physical suspense. Character, motive and fatality, man and the earth and the gods—such are the elements of dramatic action. Consider Mr. Liebovitz's story. A lonely, unloved mountain girl marries a rich, harsh, middle-aged farmer. She and one of the hands, John Hawthorne, are drawn together by a strong, fresh passion. John tries to tear himself away. But Laura Smart will not let him go, half-veiling her love even from herself by a show of solicitude for John's salvation. He stays and, at the end of a quarrel convincing enough in its origin and progress, kills the husband. The guilty lovers flee to the hills. But Laura, a Kentucky country-girl, let us remember, a communicant, probably, of the Southern Baptist church, can find no peace while she is certain of John's damnation at the hands of an angry God. He must expiate. And since she cannot persuade his pagan soul of that necessity, she betrays him to the sheriff in order to save him both in this world and the next. No one who has known the half-illiterate evangelical sects of the South can doubt the force and truth and, if one likes, the originality of the inner progression of this fable. The structure of its dramatic embodiment was neither taut nor straight enough. But it was ambitious of tautness and straightness. It was blamed, however, for not being ingenious and meretricious and falsely smooth. It was condemned not because it was not more like "Macbeth" but because it was not more like "Declassée." Suppose another and a greater than Mr. Liebovitz were to appear? What would be his fate?

The choragus of newspaper critics set an unenviable example in the *Times*. He called "John Hawthorne" "uncommonly lugubrious," which is precisely what he called Gorki's "Night Lodging." He accused it of "sedulous gloom"; did he expect the humblest practitioner of tragedy to be sedulous about packing his troubles in his old kit-bag? The play's execution was, artistically, depressing enough. Its subject-matter was gloomy only in the sense in which "Lear" and "The Cenci" and "Ghosts" and "The Weavers" and "La Course du Flambeau" and "Redemption" and "Justice" are all gloomy. The *Times* glows with chubby cheer over the performances of Booth Tarkington and Zoe Akins. Gorki depressed it, Tolstoy left it chilled, Galsworthy could not entice it. The story of "John Hawthorne" inspires it to repeat a frivolous anecdote. A man was buried in a cellar in the anecdote. So was a man buried in "John Hawthorne." Well, Clytemnestra was killed behind the palace doors and Wallenstein stabbed in a dining-room and Falder throws himself out of a window and Rosmer and Rebecca jump into the mill-race and murdered men have been buried in many places, and the incidents could, no doubt, all be matched in the more sardonic jokes that fly about on the lips of men. And any tragedy can be called gloomy and lugubrious and represented as a bad joke to the thoughtless.

Whenever a tragic dramatist appears among us, Mr. Alexander Woollcott will be depressed. The dramatist's dialogue, which will be very different from Mr. Liebovitz's, will not save him. For, according to a current theory, dialogue counts for little, drama has no relation to literature, and a theatrical reviewer need not possess the art of reading. It was not, in a word, the glaring faults of "John Hawthorne" that damned it, but that within the play which will be shared by any American tragedy that may appear. That tragedy will be called sordid and drab and will be contrasted with the sunniness of "Clarence" or the political uplift of "Poldekin." Hence those who believe in the future of the American theater must begin to counteract such critical attitudes. We, too, deplore the Theater Guild's judgment in this instance. But we applaud its spirit and intention even here.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

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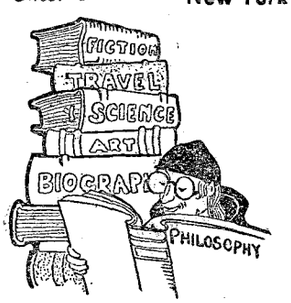

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International Relations Section

Disarmament in 1898—and Now

IN the light of current discussions of the question of the limitation of armaments, and of the need for an international conference to agree upon some such limitation, it is enlightening to recall the famous rescript of the Russian Czar calling the first joint conference on disarmament and peace in August, 1898. The text of the rescript, transmitted to the governments through Count Muraviev, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, follows:

The maintenance of general peace, and a possible reduction of the excessive armaments which weigh upon all nations, present themselves in the existing condition of the whole world as the ideal toward which the endeavors of all governments should be directed.

The humanitarian and magnanimous ideas of His Majesty, the Emperor, my August Master, have been won over to this view. In the conviction that this lofty aim is in conformity with the most essential interests and the legitimate views of all Powers, the Imperial Government thinks that the present moment would be very favorable for seeking, by means of international discussion, the most effectual means of insuring to all peoples the benefits of a real and durable peace, and, above all, of putting an end to the progressive development of the present armaments.

In the course of the last twenty years the longings for a general appeasement have become especially pronounced in the consciences of civilized nations. The preservation of peace has been put forward as the object of international policy; in its name great states have concluded between themselves powerful alliances; it is the better to guarantee peace that they have developed, in proportions hitherto unprecedented, their military forces, and still continue to increase them without shrinking from any sacrifice.

All these efforts nevertheless have not yet been able to bring about the beneficent results of the desired pacification. The financial charges following an upward march strike at the public prosperity at its very source.

The intellectual and physical strength of the nations, labor, and capital are for the major part diverted from their natural application, and unproductively consumed. Hundreds of millions are devoted to acquiring terrible engines of destruction, which, though today regarded as the last word of science, are destined tomorrow to lose all value in consequence of some fresh discovery in the same field.

National culture, economic progress, and the production of wealth are either paralyzed or checked in their development. Moreover, in proportion as the armaments of each Power increase so do they less and less fulfil the object which the Governments have set before themselves.

The economic crises, due in great part to the system of armaments *à l'outrance*, and the continual danger which lies in this massing of war material, are transforming the armed peace of our days into a crushing burden, which the peoples have more and more difficulty in bearing. It appears evident, then, that if this state of things were prolonged, it would inevitably lead to the very cataclysm which it is desired to avert, and the horrors of which make every thinking man shudder in advance.

To put an end to these incessant armaments and to seek the means of warding off the calamities which are threatening the whole world—such is the supreme duty which is today imposed on all states.

Filled with this idea, His Majesty has been pleased to order me to propose to all the governments whose representatives are accredited to the Imperial Court, the meeting of a conference which would have to occupy itself with this grave problem.

This conference should be, by the help of God, a happy presage for the century which is about to open. It would converge in one powerful focus the efforts of all states which are sincerely seeking to make the great idea of universal peace triumph over the elements of trouble and discord.

It would, at the same time, confirm their agreement by the solemn establishment of the principles of justice and right, upon which repose the security of states and the welfare of peoples.

American Property in Germany

THE report of the German Alien Property Custodian, Dr. Nieders, on the treatment of American property in Germany during the war, was secured in Berlin by Mr. Bernard G. Heyn, who has recently concluded an investigation of the administration of American property by the German authorities.

I

From the Beginning of the European War to the Declaration of War by the United States

American property in Germany was not subjected to any unusual measures of war or reprisal. In the few cases in which American property was seized, it was done not as a measure directed against America, but in connection with the confiscation and seizure of certain raw materials because of military requirements, a measure to which all German citizens were subject. This happened in the case of copper and of certain other raw materials indispensable for the waging of war. Such seizure affected all Germans and all foreigners resident in Germany, in so far as they were not protected by extraterritorial rights, without exception.

II

From America's Declaration of War to the Armistice (November 11, 1918)

In the first place, a distinction should be made, in considering measures introduced and executed by German officials against enemy property, between the text of the various laws and regulations and their actual execution. At the beginning of the war the German Government took its stand upon the inviolability of private property and desired to carry out in detail the provisions of Article 23, paragraph (h) of the Hague Convention for Land Warfare of the Second Hague Conference of October 18, 1907. In publishing the law of August 4, 1914, which the American Alien Property Custodian cites, it had no thought whatever of economic warfare.

It was England which began the violation of enemy private property when, on August 5, 1914, one day after the declaration of war, she prohibited commerce with the enemy. Germany followed the enemy states only hesitatingly; all the laws and decrees put forth in the course of the economic war are essentially replies to corresponding enemy laws, and came after them. That is evident, for instance, in the fact that whereas the English custodian took up his work on the basis of an English law of November, 1914, the German Alien Property Custodian was established only by an order of April 19, 1917. Despite the fact that a state of war with America already existed, the Enemy Property Custodian for a time made no use of his power to confiscate American property or to administer it. The measures taken against Germany's other enemies in connection with the economic war were extended to America only when America had acted first. The office of Alien Property Custodian was established in America by the Commerce with the Enemy Act of October 6, 1917. When it was learned in Germany that on the basis of that act German property in America was being attacked ruthlessly, the embargo on property of certain enemy

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states established by the order of October 7, 1915, was extended to the United States by the order of November 10, 1917. The same is true of the German order of December 13, 1917, permitting compulsory administration of American business. The right to cancel contracts with the subjects of other enemy states was extended to the United States only by the order of December 31, 1917. But the reports of the American Alien Property Custodian show best how exclusively the entire German economic warfare was dominated by the thought of defense and retaliation.

The American custodian on February 7, 1918, replied to a question sent to the State Department by the German Government through the Swiss Embassy as follows:

"The Department of the Treasury has ordered the liquidation of enemy fire and re-insurance companies. The liquidation of German private property, especially of business enterprises, when conducted by partnerships to which an enemy belongs, is in process. The war has made such partnerships void; therefore the War Trade Board has granted the partners licenses for continuation of business, with intent to liquidate the enemy portions. Where these portions exist in the form of shares, the shares will be taken over by the administrator, and he will name directors for the conduct of business. For the present no such companies will be liquidated."

It was only after receipt of this information that the order of March 4, 1918, regarding liquidation of specified enterprises, was issued, and this order does not, as the American Alien Property Custodian says in his report, "order" the liquidation of American factories in Germany, but enables it. At the same time the American State Department was informed through the Spanish Embassy in Berlin, as the American custodian repeatedly states in his report, that the decrees against American property would be carried out only in so far as the American officials applied the law against German property in the United States. In fact, the German Government not only loyally kept this promise, but, despite all the reports of ruthless treatment of German property in the United States, remained consistently far behind the American measures, and always treated American property in Germany with every consideration and care.

Enemy private property such as furniture, household objects, personal ornaments, and such matters intended for the personal use of the owner, were in principle not touched. The property of all enemy subjects was treated alike in such matters; the contrary reports of the American custodian are mistaken. Articles of clothing, etc., were sold only after authorization by the German custodian when the German depositary requested it because the objects were subject to damage by moth-eating, etc. Such authorization was given only exceptionally and after careful examination of the case. Nor were American patents and licenses in Germany sold or otherwise disposed of to people not entitled to them, as occurred in so many cases and apparently still occurs in America. According to American legislation all German intangible property in the United States is completely outlawed, which seriously hampers the resumption of economic relations, and is ultimately injurious to American citizens as well.

There has never been compulsory liquidation of American businesses. German war legislation makes a distinction between compulsory liquidation and compulsory administration. Compulsory liquidation means sale of enemy property or its complete dissolution after sale of its balance and payment of its debts. No American enterprises were subjected to such treatment. Compulsory administration of enemy enterprises had the sole purpose of bringing the enterprise under German control and seeing to it that it was not administered in a fashion contrary to German interests. Furthermore the compulsory administrators (*Zwangsverwalter*) were made custodians of the enemy property and as such were obligated to carry on the business conscientiously in the interest of the owner. In almost all such cases the industry was continued, the old employees retained when there was work for them to do; and many of the businesses so conducted operated successfully and made large profits during the war, which now go to the enemy owners. The business of the International Harvester Company, for instance, was so well administered in the interests of the Americans that the American vice-president, when he came to Germany, expressed his particular gratitude to the *Zwangsverwalter*. The sale of entire businesses to newly formed companies occurred in only a few cases, when such measures were necessary for the protection of the American property interests. Thus the transfer of the information service "Dun and Co.," which the American Alien Property Custodian mentions in his report, to a newly formed company, became necessary because after America had prohibited payments to the enemy the firm lacked means and consequently would have been condemned to bankruptcy. The business, and the valuable material and archives of the firm, could be preserved only if new capital were introduced. For that, a new company had to be formed, the founders of which, although indeed German subjects, were friends of the American owners, and ready to come to an agreement with them regarding the return of the business. In another case, that of the Johnson Erntemaschinen Company, sale to a company to be newly formed had been almost completed before compulsory administration began, and the arrangements were carried out by the representative appointed by the American firm. Sale took place to the Budapest representative of the American firm, solely with the purpose of maintaining the business of the Americans. The number of American partnerships and enterprises brought under compulsory administration is, in comparison to the total amount of American capital at work in Germany, extraordinarily small; up to the armistice there are only 186 reports of such orders in the *Reichsanzeiger*.

The personal property of Americans was handled with even greater consideration than their business enterprises. Property intended for personal use, as has been said, remained entirely free from any measures of alienation. Claims of Americans against German individuals or firms (goods to be delivered, loans, etc.), were carefully recorded on the custodian's books. This meant merely supervision as a preparation for future settlement. In not a single case did the German custodian make use of the right granted him by paragraph 6 of the order of April 19, 1917, to collect these claims. When German debtors who wished to settle at once voluntarily paid the custodian, the sum was accepted for the enemy creditors and will be credited to them at the final reckoning. Where securities and other deposits in banks were concerned, the deposits also came under the supervision of the custodian, but were left in the banks. Sale of obligations, stocks, or other securities did not take place, except in exceptional cases when the bank, for the protection of important interests of the foreigner, sought such permission. Interest on securities was paid by the banks to the custodian, and will be administered by him for the account of the enemy owner until the final reckoning.

III

From the Armistice to January 10, 1920

Although Germany had the right to continue the measures directed against enemy property in the period between the armistice and the conclusion of peace, and although the custodian might have continued his control of enemy property, no use was made of this right. Yet the report of the American custodian makes it clear that the liquidation and sale of the enemy property seized was not only continued but that new seizures and sales were ordered and carried out. In the few cases where the German custodian took enemy property under his control after the armistice it was not a hostile measure, but was done in order to supervise and to preserve for their owners property which would otherwise have been left without protection. In general, the German Alien Property Custodian had the task only of administering alien property, and of preserving it for its owners, not of selling it or of liquidating it, in the sense in which the American custodian regarded his function and ruthlessly exe-

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cuted it. In so far as enemy enterprises in Germany could be supervised, administered, or liquidated, that was the task of the officials of the federated states of Germany. The custodian had no influence upon these measures, and was, according to paragraph 2 of the Alien Property Custodian Order, limited to the task of taking over and administering property made over to him by the administrators or liquidators or other supervisors of enemy property. His task was chiefly to administer the enemy-owned securities in German banks, which, according to paragraph 6 of the order, he might have confiscated (except for landed property, factories, or domiciles), although he hardly ever made use of that power. But he was not only empowered, but, by paragraph 3 of the order, obligated, to accept payments from German debtors seeking to discharge their debts to enemy subjects. He gave no final receipt in such cases when the amount of the debt was doubtful or when the debt was to be paid in a foreign currency on which the final rate was not certain. The right to supervise enemy property in Germany was also granted the custodian by the order of January 30, 1918, which prescribed declaration of American property in Germany to the custodian.

IV

After the Ratification of the Treaty by the Great Powers of Europe on January 10, 1920

Since the United States did not ratify the Treaty of Versailles on January 10, 1920, as did the European Powers, and has not yet ratified it, the state of war between Germany and America continues, and Germany might still have utilized measures of economic warfare against America as America is still doing against Germany. Nevertheless, the German order of January 11, 1920, abolishing war measures, comprised all the legal proclamations and orders having to do with economic warfare, including those directed against the United States. Measures of economic war and reprisal are henceforth out of the question. The Alien Property Custodian, according to Article 3, paragraph 2, and Article 6 of the order of January 11, 1920, acts solely in the interest of the alien property owners until the property is returned. Only for that purpose can he continue to exercise the powers previously granted him, demand information regarding the property in his custody, or take possession of property including back or future interest. The custodian has followed these provisions faithfully with respect to the United States as well as the other countries. Liquidation is, however, seriously hampered, not by ill-will in Germany, but, as is not well understood in America, by the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles which was forced on Germany. Section III (Debts) of Part X (Economic Clauses) of the peace treaty provides for a clearing-house system for the settlement of debts between states. Detailed provisions for this are prescribed in Article 296, in case the enemies of Germany give notice that they so desire within one month of ratification of the treaty. In order to prevent private debtors and creditors in the enemy states and in Germany from settling their prewar reciprocal business arrangements, Article 296 (a) prescribes that "each of the High Contracting Parties shall prohibit, as from the coming into force of the present treaty, both the payment and the acceptance of payment of such debts, and also all communications between the interested parties with regard to the settlement of the said debts otherwise than through the clearing offices." In order that Germany might not, as has so often been the case, be subjected to unwarranted charges of not maintaining the provisions of the treaty, the German Government had to include in the law for the execution of the peace treaty, the law of August 31, 1919, paragraphs 1 to 3, a prohibition of such settlement of debts until some one of the Allied and Associated Powers should give notice that it had decided against the clearing office procedure prescribed in Article 296 of the treaty. Consequently, until America ratifies the treaty, or previous to ratification renounces the clearing office procedure, as Brazil did, Germany cannot undertake or permit settlement of American property which might, if America should adopt the clearing office procedure, fall into the categories listed in Article 296, paragraphs 1 to 4. This includes prewar debts on goods ordered or other contracts arising in commerce between nationals of the various states. Consequently Germany has up to the present been able to return to Americans only securities or other definite individual physical property, and cannot give up other forms of property. Payment of outstanding debts and proceeds from sales by the custodian in general cannot be made because the United States has not ratified the treaty or renounced the clearing office procedure. Since, however, strict execution of that paragraph of the treaty would have had the effect of hampering the resumption of German-American economic relations, and since such resumption is regarded in Germany as desirable, action was taken in individual cases to put the necessary means at the disposal of the directors of American enterprises. This had been done during the war, before the restrictive provisions of the peace treaty took effect, both as regards businesses and needy individuals of American citizenship. A wider development of such practice can be made possible only by action of the American Government. Nothing would be more welcomed in Germany than action by the United States to enable rapid and free settlement of German debts to America and to Americans.

V

American Property Under the Administration of the Alien Property Custodian

The following figures regarding American property held by the German Alien Property Custodian are approximately correct:

The total property of American nationals in Germany reported to the custodian amounted to about 208,799,000 marks. As of June 1, 1920, approximately 6,041,800 marks had been handed over to the custodian, and the interest due the custodian according to paragraph 7 of the order establishing the Alien Property Custodian brings the total to about 11,000,000 marks. About 202,757,200 marks were left with the owners and merely entered on the custodian's books. This involves chiefly cash debts due Americans by German debtors arising from interest in companies, outstanding debts in banks, goods debts, acceptance debts, insurance premiums, etc. Something more than 24,000,000 marks were transferred to the custodian in American enterprises in Germany subjected to compulsory administration or supervision, and about 2,000,000 in bonds. Thus far about 54,000,000 marks have been paid out to enemy owners, including bonds returned, in redemption of such enterprises by the custodian. In all, the custodian has thus far released at least 135,000,000 marks to America, including the bonds in bank taken under his charge. This alone shows that the custodian has handled American property with particular care, and that everything possible has been done to resume commercial and business relations with as little friction as possible. Among the larger American firms in Germany which were subjected to compulsory administration and whose receipts and proceeds were diverted to the Alien Property Custodian the following may be mentioned: the International Harvester Company, the Singer Co., Steinway and Sons, the F. W. Woolworth Co., Marshall Field and Co., the National Cash Register Co. . . .

It can only be repeated that it depends exclusively upon the American Government whether or not the economic war shall be liquidated by immediate return of all American property to nationals of the United States and full resumption of business relations in the near future thus be achieved. Nothing is more desired in Germany than complete reestablishment of the traditional good relations such as had existed between the great republic of the new world and the German people from the time of Frederick the Great and of Washington. Such relations would find their expression and development in the exchange of personal relationships as well as of goods.

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A Manifesto from British Intellectuals

A MANIFESTO from a group of British authors, artists, and professors, demanding that the Government find a solution of the Irish question or resign, was recently published.

We, the undersigned, practicing the arts, the humaner letters, and the abstract sciences, or belonging to the churches and the learned professions of this country, being neither active nor interested politicians, view with profound humiliation the present state of the Kingdom of Ireland.

We see our country, which in the past and until very lately made great sacrifices, thinking that it made them for the cause of oppressed peoples, now presenting to the world the aspect of a land hardly equaled in the past for ignorant and unavailing coercion—that coercion being practiced upon a nation that co-equally with ourselves has inherited our traditions of individual liberty. This not because of any native ferocity, greed of gain, or thirst for rapine in our people, but because of irresolution, incapacity, and misreading of facts by those who hold the reins of our Government.

We therefore call upon the present Ministry to find immediate means of arbitration or mediation between ourselves and the people of Ireland. And if the organized shedding of blood—whether by the natives of Ireland or His Majesty's forces—or arsons, robberies, and requisitions by either party shall continue, we demand the resignation of His Majesty's Government, and declare ourselves resolved in that case to leave unmade no effort to substitute one that will have for its first and most urgent business that of finding the means of mediation until permanent peace shall be restored to the sister kingdom.

Professor Charles R. Beazley (University of Birmingham), Arnold Bennett, Edwyn Bevan, W. Lyon Blease, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, Bernard Bosanquet (Fellow of British Academy), Edward Carpenter, G. K. Chesterton, Margaret Llewelyn Davies, W. H. Davies, Walter de la Mare, G. Lowes Dickinson, John Drinkwater, Havelock Ellis, Arthur Evans, E. Forster, Roger Fry, Professor W. M. Geldart (University of Oxford), Wilfrid Wilson Gibson, Douglas Goldring, Jane Harrison, Ralph Hodgson, Ford Madox Hueffer, Augustus E. John, J. M. Keynes (Fellow of King's College, Cambridge), J. N. Keynes (Registrar, University of Cambridge), Rose Macaulay, H. J. Massingham, Alice Meynell, Harold Monro, T. Sturge Moore, Professor Ramsay Muir (University of Manchester), Professor Gilbert Murray (Oxford University), Charles S. Myers (Director of the Psychological Laboratory, University of Cambridge), Conrad Noel (Vicar of Thaxted), Alan Odle, Dr. W. E. Orchard (King's Weigh House Church), Professor J. S. Phillimore (University of Glasgow), Professor Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch (University of Cambridge), Lady Rhondda, Dorothy M. Richardson, Siegfried Sassoon, May Sinclair, Professor J. A. Smith (University of Oxford), Professor Frederick Soddy (University of Oxford), R. H. Tawney (Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford), Professor J. Arthur Thomson (University of Aberdeen), Sybil Thorndike, Professor A. J. Toynbee (University of London), Virginia Woolf.

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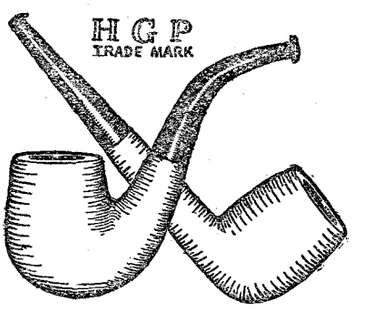

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